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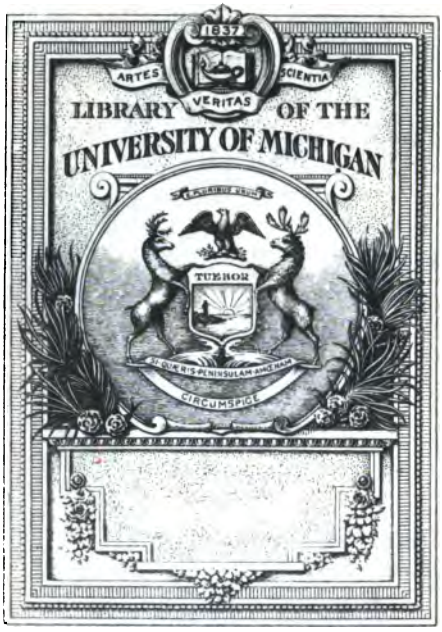

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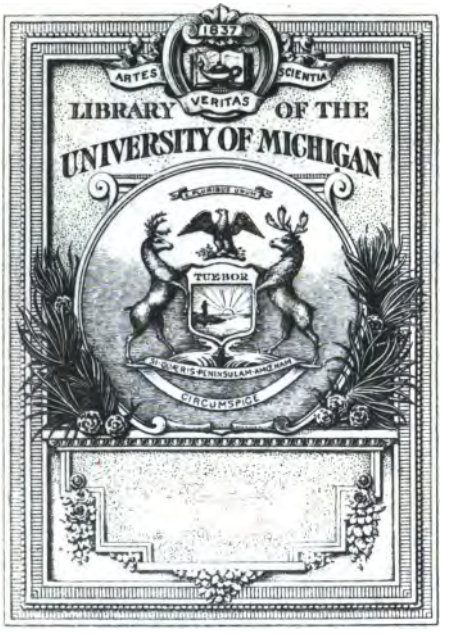

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THE

WORKS

OF MONSIEUR

DE

(ST.) EVREMOND,

Made Engliſh from the French Original:

WITH THE

LIFE OF THE AUTHOR;

BY

MR. DES MAIZEAUX, F. R. S.

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M.DCC.XXVIII.

03-9-28 Hurts

TO

The Right Honourable

GEORGE

EARL OF HALIFAX,

VISCOUNT SUNBURY;

Auditor of the Exchequer, One of his Majesty's most honourable Privy Council, Knight of the Bath, &c.

MY LORD,

TO Your illustrious Uncle, the late Earl of HALIFAX, I had the honour to dedicate the Translation of Monsieur DE ST. EVREMOND's Works; and to Your

 Lordship,

Lordſhip, who ſucceed him in his Honours and Fortune, I beg leave to inſcribe this new Edition of the ſame.

The Name of HALIFAX will ever be dear to me. I had the happineſs to be made known to that great man, the Lord HALIFAX, by two perſons, who were themſelves ſignally great in name and abilities, the Earl of SHAFTSBURY and Mr. ADDISON; and the inclination which he found in me for Letters ſerved inſtead of Merit, and gain'd me his Favour, of which he gave me many and effectual Proofs, at a time when nothing but his perſonal Worth cou'd give weight to his Recommendation. He wou'd in truth have afterwards accompliſh'd his kind purpoſes towards me, being then in a Station which gave him opportunities: but Death, which has no regard to Characters the moſt worthy and exalted, unhappily for the Publick, and for me, did too ſoon ſnatch him from us all. In him his Country loſt a faithful and zealous Patriot; the Court a polite Ornament

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ment and accomplish'd Statesman; and I a powerful and benevolent Patron.

All men who have Learning or esteem it, are bound to love the Memory of Lord HALIFAX; since to all such he was a sure Friend and Support: none of them ever courted his Friendship in vain, and many of them felt it without seeking it. Men, whose only Fortune was Wit or Letters, wanted no other, if they knew him or he them. He treated their Persons with a flowing Humanity, and generously saved them the uneasy task of Attendance and Application; a task ever irksome to ingenuous minds. Whoever could cultivate Science; whoever could discover an uncommon Genius for Letters, or Arts, or Reasoning; whoever could defend or embellish the cause of Liberty, and produce Works which prov'd useful or entertaining to the Publick; might depend upon open Encouragement and creditable Rewards, while it was in his power to bestow them; and Merit

need only be ſeen, to be diſtinguiſh'd: nor was he ever ſlow in diſcerning Merit.

Of this truth there are Monuments and Witneſſes living and dead; Sir ISAAC NEWTON, Mr. ADDISON, Sir RICHARD STEELE, Mr. CONGREVE, Mr. ROWE, and others whoſe names have done credit to Literature and their Country, and entail'd immortal Praiſe upon the Memory of Lord HALIFAX. His Benevolence to ſuch Men was a title to Immortality, and a warrant for it; and his Name will not only never die, but always ſurvive with glory never fading, as long as taſte, and print, and gratitude ſurvive.

Under ſuch a Patron, Wit and Arts will ever ſmile and proſper; as they muſt ever droop and deaden, when Men in Power contemn or neglect them. Beſides the publick uſe, and the amiableneſs of ſupporting the Learned and Ingenious; the noble returns which it brings of Popularity and Fame, are alone ſuffi-

ſufficiently tempting. They are indeed ſuch, that were great Men but judiciouſly ſelfiſh, they would for their own ends only, apply themſelves to gain Friends among Men of Parts; ſince by ſuch acquiſitions they are ſure to gain ſtrength and publick Eſteem while they live, and when dead an illuſtrious Memory.

Of that Archbiſhop of Toledo, and of that Conde DE LEMOS, who were both cotemporaries with MIGUEL CERVANTES, we know nothing but from the Writings of that celebrated Author, who gratefully glories that he was ſupported by them, and has perpetuated their Names with this Praiſe to all ſucceding times, in his immortal Hiſtory of *Don Quixote*. To be mention'd with eſteem by a fine Writer, is a patent for eſteem in all future Ages, and an exemption from contempt and oblivion. This has been the good fortune of MECENAS, and of ſuch other great Men, who had taſte enough, or art e-

nough, to encourage Genius and Learning. The dexterity of their conduct in this reſpect has even hid or diſguis'd the folly or deformity of their management in other inſtances; and it has been remembred that they were generous Patrons, when it was forgot that they were diſhoneſt or dangerous Politicians.

But to conſider this in another and more general light, I beg leave, My Lord, to repeat here what I obſerved before to your renowned Predeceſſor, whoſe Character has rais'd all theſe reflections in me; I there endeavour'd to ſhew that nothing contributes ſo much to the ſupport and encouragement of Learning, as Liberty.

Liberty inſpires a noble and elevated Confidence, which naturally enlarges the Mind, and gives it an emulation to trace out new roads to the Sciences: whereas a ſervile Dependance terrifies the Soul, and fills it with a timorous circumſpection, which renders it mean and groveling,

ling, and even fruſtrates its moſt refin'd natural Talents. Greece and Italy never had illuſtrious Writers, but whilſt they preſerved their Liberty: the loſs of that, was follow'd by the decay of Wit, and the ruin of polite Learning. Greece, formerly the Seat of the Muſes, is now involv'd in a frightful Barbarity under the Slavery of the Ottoman Empire; and Italy, which under the influence of the Senate and People was ſo fruitful in great and learned Men, now ſubject to the Tribunal of the Inquiſition, produces no conſiderable Works of Erudition or Politeneſs.

Even in France, the Number of the Learned has decreas'd, in proportion as the People loſt their Liberty. The Reign of FRANCIS I. the Father and Reſtorer of Letters, produced a great number of ſuch; and under HENRI IV. we find a SCALIGER, a CASAUBON, a THUANUS, a MONTAIGNE, a PASQUIER, and a MALHERBE. Thoſe great Genius's were follow'd under the

Reign

Reign of LEWIS XIII. by ſeveral illuſtrious Perſons, who may be look'd upon as their Diſciples; SALMASIUS, BLONDEL, BOCHART, SIRMOND, PETAVIUS, all Men of immenſe Learning; thoſe great Philoſophers, GASSENDUS and DES CARTES; thoſe excellent Wits, BALZAC, VOITURE, SARASIN, CORNEILLE, &c. But the almoſt abſolute power which RICHELIEU afterwards exercis'd, caſt a damp and diſtruſt upon mens minds, and ſtopp'd the progreſs of Letters. They made, indeed, an effort to recover under the Miniſtry of Cardinal MAZARIN, during which people enjoy'd a greater Liberty; and 'tis to this diſpoſition of the time that we owe PASCAL, MOLIERE, RACINE, DESPREAUX, and LA FONTAINE. But if ſince then, there have been great Genius's (as doubtleſs there have been and are) they were ſo conſtrain'd, as either to have forborn writing at all, or to have expreſs'd by halves what they thought.

Thus,

Thus, LA BRUYERE complains, that *the French are cramp'd in Satyr*; REGIS, the famous Philoſopher, ſollicited ten years for a Licence to publiſh his Courſe of Philoſophy, and at laſt obtained it on this condition only, that he ſhou'd retrench whatever diſpleas'd his Cenſors; Monſieur DE FONTENELLE has been obliged to depart from the freedom found in his firſt Works. And were we to judge of the Taſte of Literature in France by the Writings of its preſent Authors, we might ſay, that an ill Taſte has got the aſcendant; that they diſtinguiſh themſelves neither with reſpect to Learning, nor Wit; and that they corrupt even their Language by unnatural and irregular turns, and by affecting a ſhort ſententious Style. And this decay of Learning is without doubt to be attributed to the nature of the Government, and not to the Genius of the Nation.

That theſe were the Sentiments of the late Lord HALIFAX as well as mine, was

was apparent from his Diſcourſe, and from the tenor of his Life and Actions. He knew that Liberty and Learning were inſeparable, and naturally produce one another; and that whoever would preſerve the one, muſt cheriſh the other.

Your Lordſhip's Love of Letters and the polite Arts, which you improved by ſeveral years Travels, even beyond the bounds of Europe; and your known Attachment to the Intereſt of your Country, the pains you have taken, the expence you have been at, and the ſucceſs you have had, in ſerving it, in ſupporting its genuine friends, in weak'ning its domeſtick enemies, in withdrawing numbers from their intoxicated zeal for another intereſt, and confirming all in their fidelity to the preſent Eſtabliſhment; are abundant proofs how worthily you ſucceed your illuſtrious Uncle, and how dear you ought to be to all ſuch as honour him and love the Conſtitution.

I,

I, my Lord, am one of thoſe who profeſs a high and ſincere regard for both; and in my zeal for the Publick, and for the Memory of this your immortal Anceſtor, it is impoſſible to avoid including Your Lordſhip, by whom therefore I beg to be eſteem'd, what I am with profound reſpect,

MY LORD,

YOUR LORDSHIP'S

Moſt Humble and
Moſt Obedient Servant,

P. DES MAIZEAUX.

THE PREFACE.

THO a great many of Monſieur DE ST. EVREMOND's Pieces were publiſh'd during his Life, yet 'tis certain he had no hand in the Impreſſion of them; on the contrary, he oppos'd it as much as he could. But as he did not ſcruple to communicate ſeveral of his Manuſcripts to the Dutcheſs of MAZARIN, or to ſome other of his particular Friends; thoſe whom he made uſe of to tranſcribe them, often took a Copy for themſelves, which they afterwards ſold at their own price to the Bookſellers of Paris. Theſe ſurreptitious Copies being huddled up very haſtily, were extremely defective; which, together with what was added to or diminiſh'd from them at Paris, in order to accommodate them the better to the Popiſh Religion or the French Government, had ſo disfigur'd them, that Monſieur DE ST. EVREMOND could ſcarce know them to be his own. Yet with all the faults that had crept into them, there remained

remained ſtill a great many fine Paſſages, which gained them univerſal Applauſe where-ever the French Language was underſtood.

Such a general Approbation cou'd not fail of raiſing a deſire in all the Curious of this Nation to ſee his Writings tranſlated into Engliſh; a Compliment generally paid here even to the moſt indifferent performances that appear in French. Accordingly in the year 1684 a Tranſlation was publiſhed of his *Reflections upon Tragedies, Comedies, and Opera's*[1]: and in 1692, theſe with ſome other Pieces, that had been printed ſeparately, were collected into one Volume, under the title of *Miſcellaneous Eſſays; by Monſieur St. Evremont. Tranſlated out of French. With his Character by a Perſon of Honour here in England; continued by Mr. Dryden*[2].

By this *Perſon of Honour* was meant the learned and ingenious Dr. KNIGHTLEY CHETWOOD, who died lately Dean of GLOCESTER. In that little Diſcourſe, he gives the Character both of M. DE ST. EVREMOND, and of his Works. "Whoever reads "theſe Eſſays, *ſays he*, will acknowledge "that he finds there a Fineneſs of Expreſſion, "and a Delicateneſs of Thought, the Eaſineſs "of a Gentleman, the Exactneſs of a Scholar, "and the good Senſe of a Man of Buſineſs: "That the Author is thorowly acquainted with "the World, and hath convers'd with the beſt "ſort of Men to be found in it. His Subjects "are

[1] In 4to. [2] In 8vo.

" are often great and noble, and then he never
" fails to write up to them. When he ſpeaks
" of the antient Romans, you would believe
" you were reading one of the ſame Age and
" Nation: the ſame Spirit, the ſame noble
" Freedom, the ſame unaffected Greatneſs ap-
" pear in both. If the ſubject he chuſeth be of
" a lower nature, he is ſure to write that which
" is not common upon it; there is ſtill ſome-
" what new and agreeable, and beyond what
" you could expect. However you were
" affected when you began to read him, he
" gains upon you inſenſibly, and before you
" have done, you take a pleaſure to be of the
" ſame opinion with him.

" The variety and choice of his Subjects
" pleaſes you no leſs, than what he writes up-
" on them. He perpetually entertains you
" with new objects, and dwells not too long
" upon any of them. As for Method, it is
" inconſiſtent with his Deſign, neither pre-
" tends he to write all that can be ſaid: he
" ſets not up for a Teacher, but he inſtructs
" you unawares, and without pretending to
" it. Every thing appears ſo natural, that
" the Art is hidden, and yet the Obſerver
" finds all the Strokes of a Maſter's hand.
" He knows exactly when to give over. All
" is ſo well, you'll wiſh he had ſaid more;
" and yet when he concludes, you believe he
" could not have ended better. He hath tru-
" ly ſtudy'd Nature in that point, that it is
" with the Mind as with the Body, they are

" to be treated alike: the deſires of both " ſhould be ſatisfy'd, yet ſo that you are to " riſe with an Appetite."

Mr. DRYDEN, in the other little Diſcourſe which immediately follows, and which likewiſe contains the Character of Monſieur DE ST. EVREMOND, and of his Works [1], ſays, " There is not only a Juſtneſs in his Conceptions, which is the foundation of good " Writing, but alſo a Purity of Language, " and a beautiful turn of Words, ſo little " underſtood by modern Writers, and which " indeed was found at Rome but at the latter end of the Commonwealth, and ended " with PETRONIUS, under the Monarchy."

He afterwards makes ſome Obſervations on the Cenſure Monſieur DE ST. EVREMOND hath paſs'd upon the Character of ÆNEAS in VIRGIL [2], and then adds: " Be this ſaid, " with all manner of Reſpect and Deference " to the Opinion of Monſieur ST. EVREMONT; amongſt whoſe admirable Talents, " that of Penetration is not the leaſt: he " generally dives into the very bottom of " his Authors, ſearches into the inmoſt receſſes of their Souls, and brings up with " him thoſe hidden Treaſures, which had " eſcap'd the diligence of others."

This

[1] *Theſe two little Pieces are inſerted at large, in this Edition, Vol. III. pag.* 96 *and* 98.

[2] *See M.* De St. Evremond's Reflections upon the French Tranſlators, *Vol. II. p.* 147. *& ſeq.*

This Volume of Monſieur DE ST. EVREMOND's *Eſſays* was ſo well receiv'd by the Publick, that the Bookſeller made all the haſte he could to publiſh another; and in the tranſlating of it, he employ'd Dr. DRAKE, Mr. BROWN, Mr. SAVAGE, Mr. MANNING, and ſome others, who did not think fit to let their Names be known. This Second Volume came out in the year 1694. Mr. BROWN dedicated it [1] to the Earl of SUNDERLAND, and in the Dedication he compares Monſieur DE ST. EVREMOND to MONTAIGNE, and even gives him the preference over that incomparable Writer. "I believe it will be agreed on all hands, "*ſays he*, that ſince the Declenſion of the "Roman Eloquence and Empire, there never "was a truer or nicer Judge of Men and "Manners than our Author, or one in whom "a fruitful Wit and a profoundneſs of Rea- "ſon were ſo happily reconcil'd. Amongſt "his own Countrymen, or indeed any where "elſe, I find none that can diſpute the Prize "with him but MONTAIGNE; who was in "truth an extraordinary Genius, and hath "left thoſe remains behind him, that will "entertain and inſtruct, as long as Mankind "preſerves any taſte for Wit and good Senſe. "Tho he writ in a very impolite Age, and

[1] *Mr. Brown's Name only appears in the Title, which runs thus:* Miſcellaneous Eſſays, by Monſieur *De St. Evremont*, upon Philoſophy, Hiſtory, Poetry, Morality, Humanity, Gallantry, *&c. Vol. II.* Done into Engliſh by Mr. Brown. *In* 8vo.

" his Language derives an unhappy Tincture
" from one of the worſt Provinces of France;
" yet there is ſomething ſo forcible, ſo vigo-
" rous, and ſo maſculine in his Expreſſion,
" that after all the conſiderable Improve-
" ments the French Tongue hath receiv'd
" ſince his time, it ſtill pleaſes, nay it charms
" and affects us. Now as all this, and a
" great deal more, may deſervedly be ſaid
" in his Praiſe; yet his warmeſt Admirers
" muſt be forc'd to confeſs with me, that
" Nicety was never his Talent; that amongſt
" his infinite variety of Citations (for as our
" Author ſays very well of him, he's no
" troubleſom Hoſt; but when his own Con-
" verſation fails him, he hath ſome Friends
" to keep it up, till he hath got breath again)
" ſome never deſerv'd to be mention'd, and
" others are urg'd *mal à propos*: in ſhort,
" that his way of writing is too Pindarical,
" and his Excurſions too frequent. 'Tis true,
" he is ſo complaiſant to his Reader, as never
" to leave him in any barren uncultivated
" Places; he gives him an agreeable *Viſta* of
" Groves and Meadows: the Scene varies
" every moment, and conſequently muſt de-
" light him; but ſtill he makes him wander,
" ſtill he leads him out of the way, or at
" leaſt for the ſake of one beautiful Proſpect,
" carries him a Mile or two about: and this
" at long run cannot fail to diſguſt nice Per-
" ſons, who are in pain till they arrive at
" their Journey's end. On the other hand,

" S T.

" ST. EVREMONT is not only Maſter of all " the good Qualities of MONTAIGNE, with- " out any of his Defects, but poſſeſſes ſeve- " ral others, to which the former was ei- " ther altogether a Stranger, as Gallantry " and a Delicateneſs of Diſcernment, or " elſe was but ſlightly acquainted with. " To diſmiſs this Compariſon, he hath a " greater Depth of Penetration, a greater Juſt- " neſs in Reaſoning, a better Taſte of polite " Learning, and a more exquiſite Knowledge " of the World: not to ſpeak of his Lan- " guage, which will admit no Compariſon."

By this, and the preceding Paſſages, one may ſee the high Value ſet on the Works of Monſieur DE ST. EVREMOND, under what- ever diſadvantage they appear'd.

Mr. BROWN ſpeaks afterwards of the Tranſlation of that Second Volume. " My " Friends, and I, *ſays he*, did our beſt En- " deavours, but found, to our expence, it " was equally difficult to imitate and tran- " ſlate ST. EVREMONT. The Periods e- " very where ſo harmonious, and yet ſo un- " affected; the Language ſo comprehenſive, " and yet ſo clear; ſo polite, and yet ſo nat- " tural; that tho we could pretend to have " reach'd his meaning in all places, which is " no eaſy matter in an Author ſo very nice " and penetrating; yet we cannot, without " a ſenſible regret, obſerve how much we " have fallen below the Original."

At length, all that had appear'd in Engliſh under the name of Monſieur DE ST. EVREMOND, was collected into one Body, and publiſh'd in the year 1700, in two large Volumes *in Octavo*, with the Title of *The Works of Monſieur de St. Evremont* [1]. The Editor, in a ſhort *Advertiſement* prefix'd to the firſt Volume, deſires the Reader to take notice, "That this Tranſlation of the "Works of Monſieur DE ST. EVREMONT "was done from a Copy of the laſt French "Edition corrected in many Places by the Pen "of the Author, and on that account prefe-"rable to any yet publiſh'd:" which ſeems to inſinuate, as if it were a new Tranſlation, tho it was indeed the ſame which had appear'd before. The truth is, it had been compar'd with a French printed Copy, wherein Monſieur DE ST. EVREMOND made ſeveral Corrections with his own Hand, and had partly mark'd the Pieces which were falſly attributed to him [2]. But for all theſe Corrections, there remain'd ſtill in that Edition a prodigious number of Faults; and it was very far from having the perfection of the Original, as I am going to demonſtrate, by comparing the Editions of 1692 and 1700, with that we now publiſh.

In

[1] *Printed for A. and J. Churchill.*

[2] *Thoſe Pieces amounted very near to the Bulk of one of the Volumes, for they made up 27 Sheets, and each Volume conſiſted but of 32 or 33.*

In the *Fragment of Friendſhip without Friendſhip*, after Monſieur DE ST. EVREMOND had been ſpeaking of the Strayings of the Heart, and of the Diſorders it cauſes in Love as well as in Friendſhip, unleſs directed by Reaſon; they add, in the Volume publiſh'd in 1692 [1]:

" Behold the end of Love and Friend-
" ſhips.

" Upon the Heart, by Reaſons juſt and
" reaſonable, whoſe Diviſion the Mind can
" take, there is no Rupture to be appre-
" hended; for either it remains the whole
" Life, or it is inſenſibly diſengag'd with Diſ-
" cretion and Diligence. It is certain that
" Nature hath put in our Hearts ſomething
" of Laughter, if one may ſay ſo, ſome
" ſecret Principle of Affection, that con-
" ceals what's tender, that explains it ſelf,
" and is communicable with Friends. But
" the uſe of it hath not been receiv'd and
" authoris'd amongſt Men, but only as much
" as to render Life more peaceable and more
" happy."

I deſire the Reader to give me leave to make two Remarks here. The firſt is, That I cannot apprehend how the Tranſlator of this Volume could publiſh ſuch a continued piece of unintelligible Nonſenſe as this is; or at leaſt, palm it upon the world for Monſieur DE ST. EVREMOND's. 'Tis true he followed

[1] Pag. 355, 356.

the printed French Copy; but if he had made the leaſt uſe of his Judgment, he might eaſily have perceived it was ſo corrupted as to be uncapable of a Tranſlation. But this is not the only Paſſage where the Tranſlators of Monſieur DE ST. EVREMOND's Works are contented to ſubſtitute a certain number of Engliſh words for as many French, without troubling themſelves whether or no they carried a falſe or ridiculous meaning, or indeed, whether they were capable of any ſenſe at all.

My ſecond Remark is, That thoſe Criticks of the firſt rank, who think it ſo eaſy a matter to fill up the Chaſms, or to reſtore the true Reading of Greek or Latin Authors, and who ſo boldly pronounce, *It muſt be read thus, or thus* [1]; would perhaps be a little more timorous and circumſpect in their Deciſions, if they conſider'd the difficulties they would be put to, ſhould they undertake to reſtore this Paſſage of Monſieur DE ST. EVREMOND *ex ingenio*, or that of any other modern Author, whoſe Language they are perfect maſters of. This Paſſage would furniſh the French Critics with a very good opportunity for a fair Trial of Skill. And our own learned and ſagacious Countrymen needed only, for example, deſire ſome of their Friends to tranſcribe a few Paſſages out of

[1] Ita legas, me Auctore, &c.

of our Poets, or other Engliſh Writers, and to leave purpoſely in them a *Lacune*, or to change a few Words or Lines; and afterwards take it upon themſelves to fill up thoſe *Lacunes*, or re-eſtabliſh thoſe Words or Lines: and by the trouble they would find to hit upon the Terms and Phraſes of the Author, they might draw very mortifying Inferences with reſpect to the Emendations they attempt to make in the Greek and Latin Writers, whoſe Language, I believe, no body now will pretend to underſtand ſo well as they do their own. When I have the Pleaſure to ſee SHAKESPEAR perfectly reſtored, to name but one, I ſhall then hope VIRGIL or HORACE may in time have the ſame good Fortune.

To return to Monſieur DE ST. EVREMOND, this *Fragment of Friendſhip without Friendſhip* (which of all his Pieces, was, I think, the worſt treated) appear'd to a little better advantage in the Engliſh Edition of 1700[1]; by means of the French Copy, *corrected in many places by the Pen of the Author*, and there the abovementioned Paſſage ſtands thus:

" And this is the common Fate of Love " and Friendſhip. But if the Heart grounds " its Affections upon juſt and ſolid Reaſons, " there is no Rupture to be apprehended; " for either it laſts ſo long as a Man lives, or " it

[1] Vol. I. p. 409.

" it inſenſibly breaks off with Diſcretion " and Speed. It is certain, that Nature hath " plac'd in our Hearts ſomething gay and " laughing, ſome ſecret Principle of Affec- " tion, which conceals its own Tenderneſs " from others, but opens and communicates " it ſelf to its Friends. But the uſe of it " hath been no further receiv'd and autho- " riz'd amongſt Men, than as it may render " Life more eaſy and happy."

This Paſſage is here much more tolerable, as I ſaid, than it was in the Edition of 1692; yet ſtill it is very far from a faithful repreſentation of the Author's Thought, and the beauty of his Expreſſion. There are even ſome Lines of it which have no Senſe at all: for, pray, what is that *ſomething gay and laughing* which *Nature hath plac'd in our Hearts*; and what are we to underſtand by that *ſecret Principle of Affection, which conceals its own Tenderneſs from others, but opens and communicates it ſelf to its Friends*?

But the Author himſelf wrote the Paſſage after the following manner, and as it ſtands in this preſent Edition [1].

" This is the common fate of Love, and " Friendſhip founded on the Heart. As for " thoſe juſt and reaſonable ties faſtened and " directed by the Judgment, there is no " rupture to be apprehended; for either " they

[1] Vol. II. pag. 269.

" they laſt for life, or inſenſibly wear off " with diſcretion and decency. It is cer- " tain that Nature hath plac'd in our hearts " a Loving Faculty (if I may ſo ſpeak) ſome " ſecret principle of Affection, ſome hidden " ſtock of Tenderneſs, which opens and com- " municates it ſelf in time. But the uſe of " it hath been no farther receiv'd, *&c.*"

I thought my ſelf obliged to ſhew, by this Example, how much the Works of Monſieur DE ST. EVREMOND, publiſh'd during his Life, were defective, and how faithfully all the Ridicule and Nonſenſe of the Tranſcribers was preſerv'd in the Engliſh Tranſlation. 'Tis very hard to conceive how the Tranſlators could imagine that Monſieur DE ST. EVREMOND was capable of writing ſuch ſtuff: and if they were ſo juſt as not to attribute it to him, how could they be at the pains to tranſlate it into their own Language, and to publiſh it under his Name? But after all, 'tis poſſible they had no thought at all of this nature; and that looking upon themſelves, not in the quality of Criticks, who are oblig'd to uſe their Judgment, but only as Fellows honeſtly paid for turning into Engliſh a certain number of French Pages; they thought themſelves bound to furniſh, as men of punctual probity, the whole Task that was preſcrib'd them, without being in the leaſt concern'd about the Senſe and Meaning of the Author. To this muſt be added, their ignorance of the French Language, which they

they underſtood but by halves; and as they thought it a loſs of time to have recourſe to a Dictionary, what they did was but mere gueſs-work. Thus we find that in other Places, where the French Impreſſion had ſuffer'd no Alteration, but was conformable to Monſieur DE ST. EVREMOND'S Manuſcripts, they have nevertheleſs committed very groſs Faults, and made him ſay many things quite different from what he had written; nay, ſuch Fooleries and Impertinences, as moſt aſſuredly he was no way capable of. Here are ſome Examples of it, which I extract from the Edition of 1700.

In his *Judgment upon Seneca, Plutarch and Petronius*, Monſieur DE ST. EVREMOND comparing SENECA to PLUTARCH, with reſpect to their manner of treating Morality, ſays[1], " That PLUTARCH unaffected and convinced himſelf of the Truths he " advances, eaſily perſuades others: but that " SENECA'*s mind labours and ſtrains to* " *wind up its ſelf to Virtue; and as if ſhe* " *was a perfect Stranger to him, he has* " *need to ſurmount himſelf*[2]." Inſtead of this, they made him ſay[3], *That* SENECA *labours and ſweats in the Cauſe of Virtue, and*

[1] *See Vol. I. p.* 156. *of this Edition.*

[2] L'eſprit de Seneque ſe bande & s'anime à la Vertu; & comme ſi ce lui étoit une choſe étrangere, il a beſoin de ſe ſurmonter lui-meme. *OEUVRES MESLE'ES* de M. de St. Evremont, *Tom. I. p.* 241. *Edition d'Amſterdam*, 1699.

[3] Vol. I. pag. 218. *Edit. of* 1700.

and as if ſhe were a perfect Stranger to us, takes pains to recommend her: which is not the ſame thing; for Monſieur DE ST. EVREMOND doth not ſay, that SENECA treats of Virtue, *as if ſhe were a perfect Stranger to us*; but that he excites himſelf to Virtue, *as if ſhe were a perfect Stranger to him.*

Here are ſome other Examples taken from the *Diſcourſe to the Mareſchal* DE CREQUI, who had ask'd Monſieur DE ST. EVREMOND, *In what temper his Mind was, and what were his thoughts of all Things in his old Age.* Dr. DRAKE was the Tranſlator of this Piece, as appears by the Title of it.

Monſieur DE ST. EVREMOND ſays therein [1], That for the ten years paſt, which he had ſpent in foreign Countries, he had had the happineſs to enjoy the Converſation of ſeveral Perſons of Wit, and of as much Merit as Quality, whoſe Society had been the greateſt Comfort of his Life. He afterwards adds, *I formerly thought that there were no well-bred and polite Men but in our Court* [2]: but Dr. DRAKE makes him ſay [3], *I have formerly thought that there were no Men of Honour but in our Court*; which is ſo abſurd

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[1] *Vol. II. pag. 69. of this Edition.*

[2] J'avois cru autrefois qu'il n'y avoit d'honnetes gens qu'en notre Cour. *OEUVRES MESLE'ES, Tom. III. pag.* 25. ubi ſupra.

[3] *Vol. II. p.* 22. *Edit. of* 1700.

a Miſtake, that I cannot imagine how he could be guilty of it. 'Tis true, the French Expreſſion, *honnêtes gens*, ſignifies *Men of Honour and Probity*, as well as *polite and well-bred Perſons:* but is it not a Maxim known to the very School-boys, that when we tranſlate an Author, and that any of the Terms he uſes hath different Significations, we muſt not take the firſt that comes uppermoſt in our thought, at a venture, but chooſe that which beſt agrees with his end and intention? And if Dr. DRAKE had made the leaſt uſe of his Diſcernment, would not he have perceiv'd that the *Court of France*, which is the thing Monſieur DE ST. EVREMOND is ſpeaking of, and the whole Series of the Diſcourſe, requir'd him to underſtand that Expreſſion of *Politeneſs of Manners*, and not of *Honour* and Probity? Did he then mean to expoſe Monſieur DE ST. EVREMOND to the Laughter of the Engliſh, by repreſenting him as a Man capable of fancying, there were no *Men of Honour and Virtue*, but in the *French Court*?

In the next Page[1], Monſieur DE ST. EVREMOND had ſaid, *When I am depriv'd of the Converſation of the Men of the World, I have recourſe to that of the Learned*[2]: Dr. DRAKE hath tranſlated it[3]: *When I want*

[1] *Ibid. pag.* 70.

[2] Quand je ſuis privé du commerce des gens du monde, j'ai recours à celui des Savans. *Ibid. p.* 27.

[3] *Pag.* 23. ubi ſupra.

want the Company of Men of Converſation, I have recourſe to the Learned. Which entirely perverts Monſieur DE ST. EVREMOND's meaning: for, firſt, he does not ſay, *When I want the Company of Men of Converſation*, but *when I am deprived of the Converſation of the Men of the World:* Secondly, They make him ſay, that *when he wants the Company of Men of Converſation, he has recourſe to the Learned*; as if the *Learned* only were *Men of Converſation.* An egregious inſtance this of the hurry and negligence of ſome even of our beſt Tranſlators!

Some Pages farther Monſieur DE ST. EVREMOND ſays [1], That "next to the "Study of polite Learning (for which he had "a more particular affection) he lov'd the "Science of thoſe great Lawyers and Civi- "lians, who might themſelves be Legiſla- "tors; who re-aſcend to that original Juſtice "that ſettled human Society; who know "what Liberty Nature allows in eſtabliſh'd "Governments, and *how far the natural* "*Liberty of private Perſons is reſtrain'd* "*for the publick Good, by neceſſary Poli-* "*ticks* [2]." Dr. DRAKE hath tranſlated theſe laſt words thus [3]: "That know what "Liberty

[1] *Ibid. p.* 72.

[2] Qui connoiſſent ce que la Nature nous laiſſe de Liberté dans les Governemens établis, & ce qu'en ote aux particuliers, pour le bien public, la neceſſité de la Politique. *Ibid. p.* 29.

[3] *Pag.* 25.

" Liberty Nature permits in eſtabliſh'd Go-
" vernments, and *what for the publick Good,*
" *eaſes private Men of the burden of Poli-*
" *ticks:*" Which doth not in any wiſe repreſent the Author's Senſe; or, to ſpeak more properly, any Senſe at all.

Now let us give one or two more Examples out of other Pieces.

In the *Letter to Mr.* ***, *who could not endure that the Earl of St. Albans ſhould be in love in his old Age*, Monſieur DE ST. EVREMOND, to juſtify the old Men who have an Inclination ſtill to love, ſays gallantly [1]; *The greateſt pleaſure that old Men have left them, is to live; and nothing convinces them more that they live, than that they love* [2]. Inſtead of that, they wrote thus [3]: *The only pleaſure that old Men have left them, is to love; and nothing ſecures their Life ſo effectually as that.*

In the Character that Monſieur DE ST. EVREMOND hath drawn of himſelf, he ſays, ſpeaking of his Religion [4], that *his Piety conſiſted rather in Juſtice and Charity than in Penance:* but they made him ſay [5], *As for Religion, he makes his Piety conſiſt more in*

[1] *Vol. II. p.* 309. *of this Edition.*

[2] Le plus grand plaiſir qui reſte aux vieilles gens, c'eſt de vivre; & rien ne les aſſeure ſi bien de leur vie que leur Amour. *OEUVRES MESLE'ES, Tom. V. p.* 41. ubi ſupr.

[3] *Vol. II. p.* 459, *Edit. of* 1700.

[4] *See the* Life of Monſieur *de St. Evremond, p.* clviii.

[5] *See the Character of Monſieur de St. Evremond by himſelf, prefix'd to the Iſt Volume of the Edition of* 1700.

in Juſtice and Charity, than in Repentance: where it muſt firſt be obſerv'd, that there is no Oppoſition between *Juſtice and Charity*, and *Repentance*; and in the ſecond place, that they attribute to Monſieur DE ST. EVREMOND an abominable thought, by making him exclude *Repentance* from his Religion. It requir'd but a very ſmall Attention, to perceive that the French word *Penitence* ſignify'd here nothing but the Faſtings, Auſterities and Mortifications which the Church of Rome preſcribes, and which we expreſs very well in Engliſh by the word *Penance*, in contradiſtinction to *Repentance*.

But here's already more than needed, to convince the Publick, with what enormous Faults the Engliſh Tranſlation of Monſieur DE ST. EVREMOND'S Works abounded: whence will eaſily appear the neceſſity there was of ſending them abroad in a dreſs more agreeable and uſeful to the Engliſh Reader; and that ſhould, at the ſame time, do more juſtice and honour to their Author.

The French Edition of Monſieur DE ST. EVREMOND'S Works, which Dr. SILVESTRE and my ſelf publiſh'd in 1705, from the Manuſcripts of the Author, is the foundation upon which I have built: but as there are ſeveral Pieces in that Edition, which, to be underſtood, do ſuppoſe a thorow knowledge of the French Tongue, or only relate to certain Facts, or Alluſions to particular Paſſages between Monſieur DE ST. EVRE-

MOND and ſome of his Friends; I did not think that ſuch Pieces would be to the Taſte of Engliſh Readers. I have even omitted all his Poems, ſeeing that the Verſes which were in the former Engliſh Editions, and are preſerved in this, were but a looſe Paraphraſe, and did often deviate from the ſenſe of the Original. Neither have I given three Comedies of Monſieur DE ST. EVREMOND; whereof the firſt is a kind of Satyr againſt the *French Academy*; the ſecond was written to expoſe. French *Opera's*, where every thing is unnaturally ſung; and the third, which is partly an imitation of BEN. JOHNSON'S *Sir Politick Would-be*, is a lively Picture of the Ridicule of certain Perſons of different Nations; as of a Chimerical *Engliſh Politician*; of a *French Gaſcon Marquis*; of a *German Traveller*, *&c.* The two firſt Comedies would not have been intelligible, and the third would not have been entertaining.

As I have retrench'd ſome of the Notes of the French Edition, which I had made to explain to the French Readers certain things regarding England; ſo have I likewiſe added ſeveral new ones here, to enable the Engliſh Readers the better to underſtand what concerns certain Facts or Perſons, which are not ſufficiently known on this ſide the Seas.

I ſhall not inlarge in this place upon the Works of Monſieur DE ST. EVREMOND, nor ſay any thing of his Perſon, to avoid repeating what Dr. SILVESTRE has ſo well done

done in his *Preface*[1], and what I have my ſelf ſo particularly treated in our Author's *Life*. I ſhall rather take notice, that as in publiſhing the original Works of Monſieur DE ST. EVREMOND, we excluded all the Pieces that were not his; ſo in the Year 1706 I publiſh'd at Amſterdam a *Collection* of the beſt of thoſe latter[2], which was ſo well receiv'd beyond Sea, that it hath been ſeveral times reprinted as well in France as in Holland. For this reaſon I have added here, in the third Volume, the choiceſt of thoſe Pieces.

To theſe I have prefix'd the *Memoirs of the Dutcheſs of* MAZARIN, written in her Name by the Abbot DE ST. REAL, and which make a part of the Collection printed beyond Sea; not doubting but the Engliſh Readers will be glad to peruſe the Adventures of a Lady ſo well known in this Country, and whom Monſieur DE ST. EVREMOND hath, by his Writings, ſtill render'd more famous. Theſe Memoirs reach to the time ſhe retir'd to Chambery, where ſhe liv'd in a kind of Privacy till ſhe came hither: and as in the *Life* of Monſieur DE ST. EVREMOND, I have related the moſt conſiderable Events of her Life, ſince her Arrival in England; ſo in joining theſe two Works, the Reader may

[1] *That* Preface *was prefix'd, and chiefly relates to the firſt French Original Edition of M. de St. Evremond's Works, printed at London in the Year* 1705. *The Reader will find it in the beginning of the third Volume; where the Printer placed it, in order, I ſuppoſe, to make that Volume equal to the other two.*

[2] *That Collection is intitled,* Mêlange curieux des meilleures Pieces attribuées à Monſieur de St. Evremond, *&c.* 2 *Vol. in* 12*mo.*

have, in ſome manner, a compleat Hiſtory of this Dutcheſs, who was no leſs famous for her Beauty than her Misfortunes.

I have reviſ'd the Tranſlation of the Pieces attributed to Monſieur DE ST. EVREMOND, and particularly that of Madam MAZARIN's *Memoirs*, which was full of ſuch blundering and comical Miſtakes[1], that I might here ſufficiently divert the Readers, were it not high time to finiſh this Preface, which is but too long already.

However, I muſt not forget to inform the Publick, that the *Memoirs of the Life of the Earl of* ROCHESTER, *in a Letter to the Dutcheſs of* MAZARIN, ſet before his *Works*, were not written by Monſieur DE ST. EVREMOND, to whom they are aſcrib'd. Never was any thing more remote from his genius and manner. I am bound to ſay as much of the *Reflections upon the Doctrine of* EPICURUS. They were firſt tranſlated by Mr. BROWN in the Year 1694, and publiſh'd as a genuine Work of Monſieur DE ST. EVREMOND's: but in the Edition of 1700, they were preceded by a ſhort Advertiſement[2], wherein the Editor was ſincere enough to tell the World, that this Diſcourſe *was not written by Monſieur* DE ST. EVREMONT, *as he himſelf owns in his Epiſtle to the* Modern

[1] *The Author calls himſelf P. Porter Eſq; I made uſe of the Edition of* 1676.

[2] *In this Advertiſement 'tis aſſur'd, that this Diſcourſe is built upon Monſieur de St. Evremond's Hypotheſis, and written after his manner: which is a double falſity.*

dern Leontium [1]. After this, there is reaſon to wonder, that this Piece, or rather part of it, ſhould be tranſlated afreſh, and publiſh'd under the name of Monſieur DE ST. EVREMOND, at the head of EPICURUS's *Morals*, printed in 1712, together with ſeveral Reflections join'd to it [2], which, to ſpeak it *en paſſant*, are but a mere Tranſlation from the *Morale d'Epicure*, publiſh'd at Paris in the Year 1685, by the Baron *Des Coutures*. Neither is there any thing of Monſieur DE ST. EVREMOND's in the Book printed at London in 1707, and intitled, *The Miſcellaneous Remains of Cardinal* PERRON, *Preſident* THUANUS, *Monſieur* ST. EVREMONT, *&c. abridg'd and done into Engliſh, with a Preface.* And the Reader may reſt aſſur'd, that all the Pieces attributed to him, which are not either in theſe three Engliſh Volumes, or in the French Editions wherein I have been concern'd, *viz.* thoſe printed at London, in 1705; at Amſterdam in 1706; at Paris (under the name of London) in 1711; and at Amſterdam again in 1726, which is the beſt of all; are ſpurious, or were left out of his Works for the reaſons I have given in his *Life*. There

[1] *In the Second Volume, p. 363. of this Edition.*

[2] *The Title at full length is:* Epicurus's Morals, tranſlated from the Greek, by John Digby Eſq; with Comments and Reflections taken out of ſeveral Authors. Alſo Iſocrates's Advice to Demonicus; done out of the Greek by the ſame hand. To which is added, An Eſſay on Epicurus's Morals, written by Monſieur St. Evremont, and made Engliſh by Mr. Johnſon. *The Engliſh Tranſlator made uſe of the Edition printed at the Hague in* 1686. *See the* Hiſtoire Critique de la Republique des Lettres, tant ancienne que moderne; *Tom. II. p.* 289, 290.

There now remains nothing more for me to add, but that for the Satisfaction of thoſe who are fond of knowing the moſt minute Particulars relating even to the Perſons as well as the Characters of celebrated Men, I have here given the Picture of Monſieur DE ST. EVREMOND much nearer the Life, and better engraved than any that hath hitherto appeared; and likewiſe a very exact Print of his Tomb.

In this *ſecond Edition*[1], I have inſerted a *Letter* to my Lord GALLWAY, which was not in the firſt; and tranſpoſed ſome Pieces, in order to give them a place more agreeable to the time of their Compoſition. I have corrected the Tranſlation in many places, and brought it nearer to the Original; tho I readily own that it might ſtill be farther improved. I have alſo corrected the Notes, and added ſeveral new ones.

The *Collection* of the beſt Pieces attributed to Monſieur DE ST. EVREMOND, is alſo enlarged with ſome others, that were likewiſe aſcribed to him; and among theſe are the *Reflections upon the Doctrine of* EPICURUS above-mention'd, which have been eſteemed by good Judges, and even by Monſieur DE ST. EVREMOND himſelf.

There are ſo many Corrections, Alterations, and Additions in the *Life* of Monſieur DE ST. EVREMOND, that it may, in ſome meaſure, be accounted a new Work.

The

[1] *The firſt Edition was publiſh'd in the month of October* 1713.

The ſhare Dr. SILVESTRE had in the firſt French Edition of Monſieur DE ST. EVREMOND's Works, as well as the Friendſhip there was between us, obliges me to give here a ſhort Account of his Life.

Dr. PETER SILVESTRE was born at Tonniens upon the Garonne, in the Year 1662. After he had gone thro' a Courſe of Philoſophy, his Father, who was a noted Sollicitor in the Parliament of Bourdeaux, ſent him at eighteen years of Age to Montpellier, in order to ſtudy Phyſick, where Monſieur BARBEYRAC, a Gentleman who was diſtinguiſh'd for his skill in that Profeſſion, honour'd him ſo far as to undertake the care and direction of his Studies. He applied himſelf to Anatomy under M. VIEUSSENS, and made a conſiderable progreſs in it. From thence he went to Paris, with a deſign to perfect his Studies in Phyſick: but the repealing of the Edict of Nantes, obliged him to retire into foreign Countries.

He went firſt into Holland, where ſome Lectures of Anatomy, which he read at Amſterdam, gained him great Reputation, and recommended him to the domeſtick Service of the Prince of ORANGE. He follow'd that Prince into England in 1688; and the next Year he was carried into Ireland by the Duke of SCHOMBERG, General of his Majeſties Forces there: but not having taken care of getting himſelf put upon the Eſtabliſhment, as Phyſician to the Army, upon the Duke's Death, he return'd again into England.

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The King wou'd have ſent him over into Flanders, as Phyſician to the Army; but he choſe rather to continue at London, where he had many Friends. The Duke of MONTAGUE, who had known him at Paris, engaged him to travel into Italy with the Lord MOUNTHERMER his Son; after which he took him into his Family, and fixed him there by favours ſuitable to his Grace's high Rank and Generoſity.

When we publiſh'd M. DE ST. EVREMOND's Works, he deſired he might dedicate that Edition to the Duke of MONTAGUE as a Teſtimony of his Gratitude.

The Duke dying in 1709, left Dr. SILVESTRE at liberty to apply himſelf wholly to his Profeſſion, in which he gained a diſtinguiſhed Reputation, and continued in it till his Death, which happen'd on the 16th of April 1718.

His free and eaſy Behaviour render'd his Converſation very agreeable, in which he applied his Reading in the beſt and propereſt manner. His healthful and pleaſant Countenance made a very happy impreſſion upon the minds of his Patients. He had a good taſte of Muſic, Painting, and the other liberal Arts. He thorowly underſtood Anatomy, the Practice of Phyſick, and Chymiſtry. His Death was undoubtedly a very great loſs to the Publick.

London, July 5, 1728.

THE

LIFE

OF MONSIEUR

DE ST. EVREMOND.

TO

MONSIEUR BAYLE.

SIR,

THE favourable Judgment you were pleas'd to paſs upon the *Life* of Monſieur DE ST. EVREMOND, which, at your requeſt, I had the honour to tranſmit to you a year ago, has engaged me to reviſe it, in order to render it ſomewhat more worthy of your approbation: and you have here the moſt important, the moſt

curious Particulars I have been able to collect, relating to this celebrated Writer. To these I shall add the History of his Works, and give the substance of them too, as far as the compass of these Memoirs will allow. You will quickly perceive, Sir, that the world has a very imperfect notion of M. DE ST. EVREMOND: the generality, indeed, look upon him as a man of good Judgment, exquisite Taste, and nice Discernment; but they know not that he had considerable Employments in the Army, and that he merited the esteem of the greatest Commanders of his age. We must therefore tack the Soldier to the Wit: we must look upon M. DE ST. EVREMOND as an Officer of distinction, who was always fond of Literature; as a refined Courtier, who never wrote but either to amuse himself, or to gratify his Friends.

M. DE ST. EVREMOND was descended of one of the best Families in Normandy, and the best related, both by the Women that married out of, and into it. GILES DE MARGUETEL, Castelan or Baron of St. Denis le Guast, married *Magdalen Martel*, sister to Stephen Martel, Bishop of Coutance, of the Branch of Basqueville-Martel. JOHN his son, who took the Name and Coat of Arms of St. Denis[1], married *Catherine Martel*, of the Branch of Fonteine-Martel; by whom he had six Daughters[2], and two Sons, *viz. Henry* who died a Batchelor, and

[1] *The Lordship of St. Denis le Guast, within three leagues of Coutance, in Lower Normandy, was brought into the family by his Mother, the Heiress of it.*

[2] *The five eldest Daughters were married to Messieurs de Vierville, de Sauvigny-Gambieres, de Tauville, du Mesnil-Poisson, and de Fontenay-Haubert. Vierville, du Mesnil-Poisson, and Fontenay, were Protestants.*

and *Charles*. CHARLES DE ST. DENIS married *Charlotte de Rouville* [1]; deſcended from James de Rouville Lord of Grainville, and from Diana le Veneur, Daughter of Taneguy le Veneur, Count de Tillieres. She was ſiſter to Mary le Veneur, the wife of Paul Count de Salms, Great Chamberlain of Lorrain; and mother of Chriſtiana de Salms, who marry'd Francis of Lorrain Count de Vaudemont. CHARLES had ſeven Children, *viz.* a Daughter who died young, and ſix Sons, *Francis*, called DE HELLANDE; *John*, called DE LA BELOUTIERE, an Abbot; *Charles*, called DE ST. EVREMOND; *Peter*, called DE GRIMESNIL; *Henry*, called DE LA NEUVILLE; and *Philip*, called LE TANUS. Beſides theſe diſtinctions, founded on the names of Manors, belonging to the Caſtelany or Barony of St. Denis, a ſort of Sirname was alſo given in the family to theſe ſix Brothers, alluding to their particular Characters: for, ST. DENIS the eldeſt, was called *the Honeſt Man*; the Abbot, *the Crafty Man*; ST. EVREMOND, *the Wit*; GRIMESNIL, *the Soldier*; LA NEUVILLE, *the Beau*; and LE TANUS, *the Hunter*.

CHARLES DE ST. DENIS, Lord of ST. EVREMOND [2], was born at St. Denis le 1613.

[1] *Charlotte de Rouville married with Charles de Margaſtel, Lord of St. Denis du Gas. See* the Genealogical and Chronological Hiſtory of the Royal Family of France, and of the great Officers of the Crown, *by Father Anſelme, Tom.* II. *pag.* 1445. *of the Paris edition in* 1712.

[2] St. Evremond, *or as they call it in Normandy*, St. Ebremond, *is a Lordſhip in the Election of Coutance. 'Tis called* St. Ebremond-ſur-l'Oſon, *to diſtinguiſh it from* St. Ebremond de Semilli *and* St. Ebremond de Bonfoſſé, *which are in the Election of St. Lo. Its name comes originally from* ST. EVRE-

1613. Guaſt, on the firſt day of April 1613. Being one of the younger Sons [1], he was deſign'd for the Gown; and as ſoon as he was nine
1622. years old, was ſent to Paris to be bred a Scholar. He was enter'd in the ſecond Form in the College of Clermont; and continu'd there four years, during which he went thro' Gram-
1626. mar-learning and Rhetorick [2]. He went next to the Univerſity of Caen, in order to ſtudy Philoſophy, continued there only one year, and
1627. then returned to Paris, where he purſu'd the ſame ſtudy one year longer in the College of Harcourt. He diſtinguiſh'd himſelf no leſs in the Academical Exerciſes, than by his Studies; and excell'd particularly in Fencing; inſomuch that *St. Evremond's Paſs*, was famous among thoſe ſkill'd in the ſcience.

1628. As ſoon as he had gone thro' Philoſophy, and learn'd his Exerciſes, he began to ſtudy the Law: but whether his relations had then other views, or his inclination bent him to Arms, he quitted that ſtudy after he had followed it ſome-
1629. what more than a twelvemonth; and was made an Enſign before he was full ſixteen years of age. After he had ſerv'd two or three Cam-
1632. paigns, he obtain'd a Lieutenant's Commiſſion; and had a Company of Foot given him, after
1637. the Siege of Landrecy.

1638. A military life did not hinder M. DE ST. EVREMOND from cultivating Philoſophy and the

MOND, Sanctus Evermundus, *who lived in the* VIIth *or* VIIIth *Century, and was Abbot of Fontenay-ſur-Orne in the Boſſin. His Relicks are kept at Creil, within ten leagues of Paris.*

[1] *His ſhare was* 10000 *Livres in money, and a Penſion of two hundred Crowns a-year, which is a great deal for a younger Brother, in Normandy.*

[2] *He learnt his Rhetorick under Father Canaye, of whom more hereafter.*

the Belles Lettres: and it ſoon fared with him, 1639.
with regard to Philoſophy, as it commonly does with perſons who, in a riper age, bethink themſelves of making uſe of their own Reaſon. He examin'd whether his Maſters had given him a true inſight into the nature of things; but the farther he purſu'd his inquiries, the more he was ſenſible of the vanity of their pretences: what they had often laid down to him for moſt evident Truth, ſcarce appearing to him within the verge of Probability. "When I had reach'd, "*ſays he himſelf*[1], that period of a man's Age "which fits his underſtanding for the purſuit of "Knowledge, I had a curioſity to comprehend "the nature of Things; and ſoon preſum'd that "I had attain'd to it. The leaſt proof ſeem'd "to me a demonſtration, and a probability paſ"ſed for a truth: nor can I expreſs with what "contempt I look'd down upon thoſe whom I "thought ignorant of thoſe things, which I "flatter'd my ſelf I knew perfectly well. At "length, *continues he*, when age, and experi"ence, which unhappily never comes before it, "put me upon ſerious reflections, I began to "lay aſide the ſtudy of a Science always con"teſted, and about which the greateſt men ever "had different ſentiments. I knew from the "univerſal conſent of Nations, that PLATO, "ARISTOTLE, ZENO, and EPICURUS, "were the Luminaries of their age: and yet "there was nothing ſo contrary as their Opinions. "Three thouſand years after, I found them "equally diſputed: ſticklers on all ſides, but "nothing of certainty or ſecurity on any. In "the midſt of theſe meditations, which inſenſi-

[1] Judgment on the Sciences to which a Gentleman may apply himſelf, *Vol.* I. *pag.* 51, 52.

1639. " bly undeceived me, I had the curiosity to see " GASSENDUS, the most knowing, and the " least presuming of all Philosophers. After se- " veral long conversations, wherein he commu- " nicated to me all that can be attained by " Reason, he lamented, that *Nature had given* " *so large a scope to our Curiosity, and such nar-* " *row limits to our Knowledge*; adding, *he did* " *not say this to mortify the presumption of others,* " *or to make a false ostentation of his own hu-* " *mility, which savours of downright hypocrisy;* " *that, perhaps, he was not ignorant of what judg-* " *ment might be made of many things; but that* " *he durst not be positive he was thorowly acquain-* " *ted with the most inconsiderable.* Upon this, " *adds* M. DE ST. EVREMOND, a Science " which I already suspected, appeared too vain " for me to be a slave to it any longer; I broke " off all commerce with it; and began to ad- " mire, how it was possible for a wise Man to " spend his life in unprofitable inquiries."

These were M. DE ST. EVREMOND's thoughts about the barren speculations of Philosophy: but he entertained a far different opinion of the study of the Law; which he judged to be not only useful, but even necessary for a Gentleman; and ever delighted in cultivating it [1].

M. DE ST. EVREMOND signaliz'd himself in the Army by his Politeness and by his Wit, as much as by his Bravery; which qualities, not always meeting in Soldiers, gained him the esteem of the Mareschals D'ESTRE'ES and GRAMMONT, Viscount TURENNE, *&c:* but particularly of the Count DE MIOSSENS, since known

[1] *See the* Discourse address'd to the Mareschal de Crequi, *&c. Vol.* II. *pag.* 70, *&c.*

known by the name of Mareſchal D'ALBRET; 1639.
of Count PALLUAU, afterwards Mareſchal DE CLEREMBAUT; and of the Marquis DE CREQUI, who became alſo a Mareſchal of France. He had a ſhare in their confidence, and as long as they lived, they gave him marks of a ſincere friendſhip, which to the laſt was unalterable.

M. DE ST. EVREMOND, was at the Siege 1640.
of Arras in 1640; and the enſuing year he got 1641.
a poſt in the Horſe, which gave him freſh opportunities of ſignalizing himſelf. The Duke of ENGUIEN was ſo charm'd with his converſation, that he made him Lieutenant of his Guards, 1642.
that he might have him conſtantly near him. That young Prince had a great penetration, and a moſt accurate judgment; was a great lover of Literature; and you know, Sir, that upon the Death of Cardinal RICHELIEU, ſeveral Members of the French Academy deſigned to have choſen him for their Protector [1]. Reading was one of his moſt agreeable amuſements; and as he always deſired to have the company of M. DE ST. EVREMOND at his Lectures, the latter made it his buſineſs to delight and inſtruct him at the ſame time. Being ſenſible that Princes, whoſe time is precious, ought not to' ſtudy after the common method of other men, when he read any paſſages out of antient Hiſtorians,

[1] It was was of the utmoſt importance to the Academy, *ſays M. Peliſſon*, to chuſe a Protector in the place of him they had loſt. Several were inclin'd towards Cardinal Mazzarin: . . . . Others thought of the Duke of Enguien, now Prince of Condé, who had not yet gain'd any Victories, nor perform'd thoſe Actions which were afterwards admir'd in the firſt years of the Regency; but in his youth he diſcover'd a great deal of wit, and a fondneſs for the Belles Lettres. *The Hiſtory of the French Academy, p.* 189, 190. *of the Paris edition in* 1672.

1642. he left to Grammarians the ſcrupulous explanation of words and phraſes, and bent his whole application to the unfolding and clearing the meaning of the Authors; making reflections on the juſtneſs and beauty of their thoughts; obſerving the ſkill with which they repreſent great Men, and the nice differences they mark in their Characters. In ſhort, he laboured to give a true notion of the ſtate of Affairs; and to penetrate into the different views of the great Perſonages of thoſe times.

And indeed, SIR, this is the method which not only Princes, but all perſons of Quality, who are arrived at the age of diſcernment and reflection, ought to follow in the reading of antient Authors: tho I muſt confeſs, at the ſame time, that 'tis no eaſy matter for them to find men capable to clear up all thoſe things, Commentators would, in ſome meaſure, make up that defect, had they turned their views that way: but whether they were not equal to the taſk, or imagin'd it to be foreign to their province, there's nothing like it in their Writings. M. DE ST. EVREMOND has very well obſerved their imperfections in one of his Pieces. "I "have ſeen within a few years, *ſays he* [*], abun- "dance of Criticks, and but few good Judges. "Now I do not affect that ſort of learned Men, "who rack their brains to reſtore a Paſſage, "which is not the more agreeable to us by the "reſtitution. They make a myſtery of know- "ing what they might as well be ignorant of, "and are abſolute ſtrangers to what's really "worth knowing. For want of having nice "ſentiments and thoughts, 'tis impoſſible for "them

[*] Diſcourſe addreſs'd to the Mareſchal de Crequi, &c. *Vol. II. p. 71.*

" them to enter into the delicacy of the one, 1642.
" or the fineneſs of the other. They may ſuc-
" ceed well enough in expounding Grammari-
" ans, who applied themſelves to the ſame ſtu-
" dy, and whoſe genius was the ſame: but they
" can never hit the ſentiment of a polite well-
" bred Man among the Antients, becauſe theirs
" is diametrically oppoſite to it. In Hiſtory,
" they neither know Men nor Affairs: they lay
" the whole ſtreſs on Chronology; and they
" prefer the Date of a Conſul's Death to his Cha-
" racter, and the Tranſactions during his Conſul-
" ſhip. TULLY, with them, will never be
" any more than an *Oration*-maker; or CE-
" SAR, than a Writer of *Commentaries:* the
" Conſul and the General eſcape their notice;
" the ſpirit that animates their Works is unper-
" ceived; and the principal matters they treat
" of, unknown."

M. DE ST. EVREMOND took a very different path: and one may judge of what he was able to perform on this ſubject, by ſome of his Compoſures; particularly his *Reflections on the different Genius of the Roman People*; his *Judgment on Petronius, Salluſt, and Tacitus*; his *Diſcourſe upon the French Hiſtorians*; his *Reflections on the Poems of the Antients*, &c.

After the Campaign of Rocroy, M. DE ST. 1643.
EVREMOND made a kind of Satyr againſt the French Academy, which was publiſh'd in 1650 with this title, *The Comedy of the Academicians for reforming the French Tongue.* This Piece was a long while handed about in manuſcript; and, as it generally happens on the like occaſions, every body aſſumed the liberty either of adding to it, or ſtriking out of it what he thought fit: inſomuch that when it appeared in print, M. DE ST. EVREMOND did hardly know it to be his. Nevertheleſs,

1643. leſs, M. PELISSON, in his *Hiſtory of the French Academy*, expreſſes ſome eſteem for it. *This Piece*, ſays he [1], *tho written without either Art or Rule, and which rather deſerves the name of a Farce than a Comedy, is not without wit, and there are ſome very humorous paſſages in it.* Since M. PELISSON ſpoke favourably of this work when it was ſo diſguis'd, what would he not have ſaid of it if he had ſeen it in its true natural form, or even in that which we now preſent it to the Publick? The edition of 1650 was become ſo very ſcarce, that I ſhould, perhaps, have never ſeen it, had not you been ſo kind as to ſend it to me. M. DE ST. EVREMOND would not own that copy: and when I aſk'd it of him, he told me, that in 1680 the Ducheſs of MAZARIN wiſh'd to ſee the Piece juſt as he had written it, and that his manuſcript being loſt in France, he was oblig'd to reviſe the printed copy, or rather to new-mould it again, but that he knew not what was become of it. I had the good fortune to find out this work in the hands of the Ducheſs of MAZARIN's Tranſcriber. M. DE ST. EVREMOND was pleas'd to read it over again with me, and to explain ſome paſſages of it to me; and we have publiſh'd it at the head of his *Works*, according to this laſt reviſal [2].

M. DE ST. EVREMOND made the Cam-
1644. paign of Fribourg in 1644; and the next year
1645. received a dangerous wound at the Battle of Nortlingen; where being order'd to head a Squadron, and poſt himſelf below an eminence which was poſſeſſed by the Enemy, he was there expoſed

[1] Hiſtory of the French Academy, *p. m.* 69, 70.

[2] *In the French edition of the* Works *of M. de St. Evremond.*

exposed for three hours together to all the fire of their small shot, and a battery of four field-pieces; insomuch that he lost there most of his men, and was himself wounded in the left Knee by a shot from a Falcon. His wound was thought so dangerous, that for six weeks he was believed to be past recovery: however, the skill of his Surgeons, and his good Constitution, contributed equally to his cure. Thirty years after that, his wound opened afresh here in London; but it was so well looked after, that he felt no inconveniency from it, only that his left Leg was somewhat weaker than the other. 1645.

Not long after his recovery, the Duke of ENGUIEN fell dangerously ill: and as soon as he grew better, M. DE ST. EVREMOND endeavour'd to divert him by the reading to him something gay and agreeable. He first pitched upon *Rabelais*; but soon finding his Highness had no great relish for that Author, he then took up *Petronius*, with which the Duke was extremely delighted. I only mention this circumstance, to give you an instance, that all men of wit have not a relish for *Rabelais*; tho there are abundance of inimitable passages in that satirical Romance, which seem to challenge the approbation of the most delicate Judges.

M. DE ST. EVREMOND was so happy in gaining the esteem and friendship of the Duke of ENGUIEN, that his Highness did often communicate to him his most secret projects, and intrusted him with affairs of the greatest moment. After the taking of Furnes, he pitched upon him to carry the news of it to the Court[1]; and having, at the same time, opened 1646.

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[1] See Memoires du Comte de Bussi Rabutin, *Tom.* I. *p. m.* 331.

1646. to him his design of besieging Dunkirk, charged him to propose it to the Cardinal, and to settle with him all that was necessary for the execution of so great an undertaking. M. DE ST. EVREMOND was so dextrous in the management of this affair, that he made the prime Minister consent to all the Duke of ENGUIEN desired.

1647. Some time after this, M. DE ST. EVREMOND wrote two or three little Pieces, upon occasion of some discourse that passed between him and his friends. They were reflections upon the following Maxims, *That Man, who is desirous to know all things, knows not himself: That we ought to despise Fortune, and not care for the Court: That a man ought never to be wanting to his Friends.* These three Pieces were printed at Paris in 1668, but strangely altered. M. DE ST. EVREMOND has restor'd the two first, which you will find in the first Volume of his *Works* [1]. He observes in the first of these Pieces, that the Author of Nature would not allow us to be well acquainted with our selves; and that while we covet to know every thing, we are reduc'd to the fatal necessity of being ignorant what we are. He maintains, *that no man was ever convinced by Reason, either that the Soul is certainly immortal, or that it is really annihilated with the Body.* He shews, that the most knowing Philosophers, as SOCRATES, PLATO, EPICURUS, ARISTOTLE, SENECA, and even SOLOMON, *the greatest of all Kings, and the wisest of all Men,* could never satisfy themselves on this head: and from the contrariety of their Opinions, he concludes, *that unless Faith subjects our Reason, we pass our lives between belief and unbelief,*

[1] *Pag. 26, and 31.*

lief, in endeavouring to perſuade, while we are unable to convince our ſelves. It belongs, ſays he, *to God alone to make Martyrs; and to engage us by his promiſe to lay down the life we enjoy, for another which we know nothing of. For a man to pretend to convince himſelf of the Immortality of the Soul by Reaſon, is to diſtruſt the aſſurance God has given us of it*[1]; *and is, in ſome meaſure, renouncing the only thing by which we may be certain of it.* In the other Piece, M. DE ST. EVREMOND makes ſeveral reflections on the Genius of Courtiers, how a man ought to behave himſelf with reſpect to Favourites, and how to order his conduct at Court. *A Gentleman,* ſays he, *may be allowed to have his Ambition and Intereſt, but he ought not to purſue them by any other than lawful means. He may have addreſs and ſkill, without ſubtilety; dexterity, without deceit; and complaiſance, without flattery.* 1647.

In 1648, M. DE ST. EVREMOND loſt the Poſt he had near the Prince of CONDE': for this was the Duke D' ENGUIEN's title, after his Father's death. That Prince took great delight in finding out the Ridicule of mankind; and he often ſhut himſelf up with the Count DE MIOSSENS and M. DE ST. EVREMOND, to ſhare that pleaſure with them. One day, after theſe two Gentlemen had a converſation of this nature, M. DE ST. EVREMOND chanced unawares to aſk Monſieur DE MIOSSENS, whether he thought that his Highneſs, who was ſo fond of ſpying out the Ridicule of others, had no Ridicule himſelf? and they agreed, that the very affectation of ſearching out the Ridicule of others, ſubjected him to a Ridicule of a peculiar ſtamp. This was ſo pleaſant 1648.

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[1] *Mr. Locke has very well improv'd this Thought, in his laſt Anſwer to Dr. Stillingfleet, Biſhop of Worceſter.*

1648. a thought, that they could not reſiſt the temptation of making merry upon it with their friends; of which the Prince being inform'd, ſoon ſhew'd his reſentment. He took from M. DE ST. EVREMOND the Lieutenancy of his Guards, and would have no farther correſpondence with the Count DE MIOSSENS. However, 'tis likely he would have reſtored them both to his favour, if affairs had not taken a new turn. The War of Paris was juſt begun; and the Prince having declar'd againſt the Court, at laſt withdrew into the Low-Countries; where he was made Generaliſſimo of the King of Spain's Armies. When he returned into France, after the Pyrenean Treaty, M. DE ST. EVREMOND went to wait upon him, and he receiv'd him very graciouſly. He even offered him his protection; and afterwards, on ſeveral occaſions, gave him aſſurances of his affection and eſteem.

1649. In the year 1649, M. DE ST. EVREMOND went into Normandy to ſee his family. The Parliament of Paris had declared againſt Cardinal MAZARIN; and the Duke of BEAUFORT, the Prince of CONTY, and the Duke of LONGUEVILLE, following their example, the latter retired to his Government of Normandy, where he was almoſt abſolute. He aſſembled the Nobility, and uſed all endeavours to engage M. DE ST. EVREMOND in his party; offering him the Command of the Artillery, which he refuſed; as he tells us himſelf in a ſatirical Piece, intitled, *The Duke of Longueville's Retreat to his Government of Normandy. They had a mind*, as he merrily expreſſes it[1], *to beſtow the Command of the Ordnance on* ST. EVREMOND; *and*

[1] *Vol.* I. *pag.* 8, 9.

and to ſpeak the truth, conſidering his affection for St. Germains[1], *he would have been glad to have ſerv'd the Court, by accepting a conſiderable employment which he knew nothing of. But having promiſed Count* D'HARCOURT *to take no employment, he kept his word, not only from a principle of honour, but that he might not be like the Normands, moſt of whom had broke their promiſe. Upon theſe conſiderations,* continues he, *he generouſly refuſed the Money that was offered him, and which he would never have ſeen.* Cardinal MAZARIN was ſo extremely pleaſed with this Satyr, that in his laſt ſickneſs he ſeveral times engag'd M. DE ST. EVREMOND to read it to him. 1649.

M. DE ST. EVREMOND having ſtay'd ſome time at St. Denis, went to Roan, and meeting the Duke of LONGUEVILLE on the road with his ſmall Army, he told him that the Count D'HARCOURT, who commanded the King's Troops, was advancing with all poſſible diligence, in order to attack him, and would come up with him in leſs than three hours. The Duke of LONGUEVILLE being ſenſible that he was not able to keep the field, thought all loſt, and cauſed his Troops to make ſo expeditious a march, that they reached Roan almoſt as ſoon as M. DE ST. EVREMOND.

The enſuing year, the Princes of CONDE' and CONTY, and the Duke of LONGUEVILLE, were arreſted, and carried priſoners to Vincennes by the Count DE MIOSSENS, Lieutenant of the Genſd'armes. The Dutcheſs of LONGUEVILLE retir'd immediately into Normandy, to endeavour to engage the Parliament of Roan, and the whole Province to ſide with the 1650.

[1] *The King was then at that place.*

1650. the Princes, and to ſecure the places belonging to her Huſband's Government; particularly Havre-de-Grace. This obliged the Court to march thither with ſome Troops to drive that Ducheſs from thence, and to take from the creatures of her family ſuch Governments as were in their hands. M. DE ST. EVREMOND followed the Court, in company with the Duke DE CANDALE[a]; during which he had a long *Converſation* with that Lord, which he afterwards ſet down in writing[b]; and in which he join'd to the judicious counſels he gave his friend, the Characters of the Courtiers with whom he had the greateſt intimacy; ſuch as the Dukes of EPERNON and of LA ROCHEFOUCAULT; the Counts DE PALLUAU and MIOSSENS; the Marquiſſes of CREQUI and RUVIGNY; to which he alſo added the Duke DE CANDALE's own Character. This Piece ſhews how well M. DE ST. EVREMOND was acquainted with the Court, and diſcovers his ſkill in drawing Characters; and his fine and delicate way of inſinuating himſelf into the intimacy and favour of great men.

1651. The Duke of BEAUFORT, tho a man of no great parts, had gain'd the love of the Pariſians; not ſo much by his dexterity and cunning, as by his vulgar way of ſpeaking, and popular behaviour. And tho he was afterwards reconcil'd with the Court, yet the Courtiers ſtill banter'd him. The Duke DE CANDALE, Count PALLUAU, Count MORET, M. DE ST. EVREMOND, and five or ſix more, being merry one night after ſupper, they form'd the plan of

[a] *Lewis Charles Gaſton de Candale, de Foix, Son to Bernard Duke d'Epernon, and of Gabriela-Angelica, legitimated Princeſs of France, and natural Daughter of Henry* IV.

[b] *Vol.* II. *pag.* 1.

a Satyr againſt that Duke, which they called *The Duke of Beaufort's Apology againſt the Court, Nobility, and People*: every one of the company clubb'd what he thought moſt proper to expoſe him; and M. GIRARD, who has given us the *Life* of the Duke of EPERNON, was pitch'd upon to ſet it down in writing. This ironical *Apology* is not in M. DE ST. EVREMOND's *Works*, but you will find it in the Collection of the beſt Pieces that are aſcrib'd to him [1]. 1651.

The Civil War broke out not long after; and the King being acquainted with M. DE ST. EVREMOND's merit and bravery, and knowing, beſides, that he had conſtantly refuſed to ſide with thoſe againſt the Court, made him a *Mareſchal de Camp*, or Major-General, as appears by his Commiſſion, dated the 16th of September 1652; and the next day gave him a Warrant for a Penſion of 3000 Livres a-year: the Originals of both which I have in my hands [2]. 1652.

M. DE ST. EVREMOND ſerv'd afterwards under the Duke of CANDALE in the War of Guienne; and if Bergerac had been beſieg'd before Bourdeaux, according to the opinion of ſeveral Officers, he was to have been made Governor of that place, in the room of the Marquis DE BOUGI, for whom that office was deſign'd, but falling into an ambuſh of the Prince of CONDE''s Troops, he was taken priſoner.

After the reduction of Guienne, M. DE ST. EVREMOND was committed to the Baſtille, where he was a priſoner two or three months. Some jeſts that were paſs'd upon 1653.

[1] Mélange curieux des meilleures Pieces attribuées à M. de St. Evremond, *Tom.* I. *pag.* 1.

[2] *I have inſerted them both in the French edition of this Life.*

1653. Cardinal MAZARIN, in a company where M. DE ST. EVREMOND was, and in which he had no greater ſhare than the reſt, were the pretence of his confinement; but the true reaſon of it was this: when they talk'd of an accommodation with Guienne, the Cardinal deſired that the application ſhould be made to the Creatures he had in the party of the Princes: but the Duke of CANDALE thought it better to treat with the friends of the Biſhop of Agen, who had turned out the Duke D'EPERNON; rightly foreſeeing, that as they were the ſtrongeſt, their opinions would drag in the reſt, which happened accordingly. This want of deference touch'd the Cardinal to the quick; and concluding that M. DE ST. EVREMOND had given this counſel to the Duke of CANDALE, he reſolved to puniſh him for it. Nevertheleſs, when M. DE ST. EVREMOND went to return him thanks after his enlargement, the Cardinal told him very obligingly, *That he was perſuaded of his innocence, but that a man in his ſtation was obliged to hearken to ſo many reports, that it was very difficult for him to diſtinguiſh truth from falſhood, and not to do injuſtice, ſometimes, to an honeſt man.*

1654. M. DE ST. EVREMOND ſerv'd in Flanders the next year; during which Campaign, being one day at dinner with the Mareſchal D'HOQUINCOURT, he was an ear-witneſs to the *Converſation* that General had with Father CANAYE, a Jeſuit, then Director of the Hoſpital of the King's Army: which he found ſo entertaining, that he committed it to writing ſome time after [1].

The

[1] *Vol. I. p. 176.*

The Court was then extremely gay and polite [1]; and Love and Good-cheer had an equal sway in it. M. DE ST. EVREMOND had no extraordinary inclination for the fair Sex: Madam DE L' ENCLOS was his chief favorite, who was adorn'd by her genius as much as by all the Charms of her sex. The encomium which M. DE ST. EVREMOND bestows upon her in his Works, and the Letters she wrote to him, will set her off better than any thing I can say of her: I shall only observe, that she had cultivated her mind by Reading; that she distinguish'd her self by a disinterested, constant, inviolable Friendship; and that her house was the rendezvous of the most witty and gallant of the Courtiers [2]. M. DE ST. EVREMOND was very much taken with the mirth and pleasure of the Table, and was famous for his refinement on Good-cheer; in which, at that time, niceness and cleanliness was preferr'd before cost and magnificence. Such were the Meals of the Commandeur DE SOUVRE', Count D' OLONNE, and some other Lords who kept a Table; and among them there was a kind of emulation to excel in the fineness and delicacy of taste. 1654.

Queen CHRISTINA, who came to Paris in 1656, was the subject of all conversation; there was no other talk than about her Abdication, Learning, and Behaviour, which produc'd various comments, and sometimes very pleasant scenes. Such, for instance, was the dispute that arose one day between the Count DE BAU- 1656.

[1] *See the* Memoirs of the Cardinal de Retz, *Tom.* I. *p.* 68, *&c. of the Amsterdam edition* 1719.

[2] *Madam de L'Enclos died at Paris on the 17th of October,* 1705.

1656. TRU, the Commandeur DE JARS, and the Biſhop of Mans, three great originals in their kind. M. DE ST. EVREMOND, who was witneſs to their diſpute, thought it ſo remarkable that he made a Narrative of it, and ſent it to the Count D' OLONNE [1].

1657. Not long after, M. DE ST. EVREMOND fought a Duel with the Marquis DE FORE; but I can't give you the detail of this affair: all I can ſay, is, that notwithſtanding all poſſible care was taken to keep it ſecret, the Court had notice of it, which oblig'd M. DE ST. EVREMOND to retire into the Country, till his friends had obtain'd his pardon. I ſuppoſe 'twas during this retirement he wrote the Diſcourſe *on Pleaſures*, which he ſent to the Count D' OLONNE [2]. He ſays firſt all, *That if a man intends to live happy, he muſt make few reflections upon Life, and often be abſent, as it were, from himſelf; and amidſt the diverſions which exterior objects furniſh him with, ſteal from the knowledge of his own miſeries.* He adds, that we ſhould not contemplate too much on Death: not that we ſhould never think of it; he thinks it *next to impoſſible not to make ſome reflections upon a thing ſo natural; and that it would be a kind of effeminacy to be always afraid to think of it:* only he would not have a man make it his *particular ſtudy*, which he ſays is an *employment* of the mind *too inconſiſtent with life.* After this he conſiders how a man muſt manage Pleaſures, in order to render them more quick and laſting; and concludes, with obſerving the advantages which *true Chriſtians* have over the followers of EPICURUS and ARISTIPPUS.

The

[1] *Vol.* I. *p.* 36.
[2] *Ibid. p.* 42.

The Duke of CANDALE dy'd in 1658. 1658.
M. DE ST. EVREMOND very much regretted the loſs of ſo good a friend. That Lord was the Cardinal's favourite, had very conſiderable employments, and would, undoubtedly, have been advanc'd to the chief offices in the State, had he not been ſnatch'd away in his prime: for he was but ſeven and twenty years old when he died; and yet he was General of the French Infantry, Governor of Auvergne, *&c.* An Amour he had at Avignon with Madam DE CASTELANE, ſince Marchioneſs of Ganges, ſo famous by her tragical Death [1], threw him into a fever, of which he died at Lions.

M. DE ST. EVREMOND continued in the 1659.
ſervice in Flanders, till the ſuſpenſion of Arms that was agreed on between France and Spain [2]. After the principal Articles of the Peace were ſettled, Cardinal MAZARIN ſet out from Paris, with a magnificent equipage, in order to go and conclude it with Don LUIS DE HARO, the King of Spain's firſt Miniſter; and was accompany'd by a great many Courtiers, particularly by M. DE ST. EVREMOND. When he left the Court, the Marquis DE CREQUI [3] deſir'd him to give him an account of what paſs'd at the Conferences, and to endeavour to find out the true motives of the Treaty. He ſaw no reaſon that could oblige France to put an end to the

[1] *See* Les Hiſtoires Tragiques de nôtre Tems, compilées par François de Roſſet, *p.* 513. *printed at Lions, in* 1685.

[2] *The ſuſpenſion of Arms began upon the 8th of May,* 1659, *and was continu'd till the concluſion of the Peace, the 7th of November following.*

[3] *Francis de Crequi, Marquis de Marines. He was made Lieutenant General of the King's Armies in* 1655, *and a Mareſchal of France in* 1668. *He dy'd the 4th of February* 1687.

1659. War; ſhe was alike victorious in Flanders and in Spain: he ſuſpected ſome myſtery in the Cardinal's conduct. Beſides, he did not wiſh for peace; he had rather the war wou'd continue. General Officers do not eaſily digeſt the Peace. M. DE ST. EVREMOND did not forget his friend: as ſoon as the Peace was ſign'd, he wrote him a long Letter, wherein he ſhew'd that the Cardinal had ſacrific'd the honour and welfare of France to his own private intereſt; that the only reaſon why he was ſo importunate for a Peace was, that he might pocket the immenſe ſums which wou'd otherwiſe be laid out for the war; and that this was the ſecret motive which had induc'd him to grant all the demands of Don LEWIS, when he might have obtain'd what he pleas'd from him. To this he added other conſiderations, which contain'd a fine ſtinging raillery, or rather an ingenious ſatirical irony upon the Cardinal. But that you may the better judge of this Letter, I will here inſert it at length.

" I wiſh I were able to gratify your curioſi-
" ty, *ſays Monſieur* DE ST. EVREMOND,
" both as to the true motives of the Peace, and
" all that paſs'd at the Conferences: but to deal
" frankly with you, you ought to have made
" application to the Cardinal's particular confi-
" dents, who by their long and familiar con-
" verſing with him, are fully inſtructed in all his
" ſecrets. As for me, who was only a ſpecta-
" tor, I can entertain you with nothing but con-
" jectures, and ſome few uncertain hints, for
" which I am wholly indebted to my own pe-
" netration. Such as they are, I freely offer
" them to you; and the only favour I ask of
" you, in return, is that whenever you find me

" praiſing

" praiſing the Cardinal, you do not impute it to 1659.
" adulation. The good I ſay of him, is ſincere;
" as not reſulting either from the hopes of his
" favour, or gratitude for kindneſſes receiv'd.

" As 'tis the greateſt merit of a Chriſtian to
" pardon his enemies, and as the chaſtiſement
" of thoſe we love, is the effect of the moſt
" tender friendſhip; ſo the Cardinal was induc'd
" to forgive the Spaniards, in order to chaſtiſe
" the French. And indeed, the Spaniards, that
" were humbled by ſo many misfortunes, and
" depreſs'd by ſo many loſſes, were the proper
" objects of his Compaſſion and Charity; and
" the French, being grown inſolent by their
" ſucceſſes in the War, deſerved to be mor-
" tified with the wholeſom ſeverities of a
" Peace. His Eminence call'd to mind the
" fine ſaying of the Caſtillian, who coming to
" ſtrangle Don CARLOS, by order of PHI-
" LIP II. ſaid to him, *Calla, Calla, Senor Don*
" CARLOS, *todo lo que ſe haze es por ſu bien*;
" (that is, *Be quiet, Signior Don Carlos, be quiet,*
" *all this is for your good:*) and pleas'd with ſo
" loving a ſort of puniſhment, after he had
" ſeiz'd upon the goods of private men, and
" exhauſted the publick treaſure, he ſtifles our
" groans, and ſuppreſſes our murmurs, by ſay-
" ing to us with a paternal affection, *Calla,*
" *Calla, Senor Frances, todo lo que ſe haze es por*
" *ſu bien: (Come, be quiet Gentlemen of France,*
" *be quiet, all this is for your good.)*

" I am inclin'd to believe, that ſome politick
" conſiderations might mix with the Cardinal's
" Chriſtianity: I mean as to the courteſy and
" goodneſs he ſhew'd to the Spaniards. AU-
" GUSTUS, who had a mind to give limits to
" the Roman Empire, and leave it a juſt and
" proportion'd grandeur at his death, might

1659. " very well furniſh him with an example in the
" moderation of his Peace.

" He was of opinion, that France would bet-
" ter preſerve it ſelf, united as it is, and com-
" pact, as it were, within it ſelf, than in a vaſt
" extent; and he ſhew'd a prudence, which few
" Miniſters would have dreamt of, in the care
" of covering our Frontiers, when it lay in his
" power to have made an abſolute Conqueſt of
" the Low-Countries.

" Who does not know that the deſtruction
" of Carthage drew after it that of the Roman
" Republick. While Rome had a rival to con-
" tend with, all within her walls was virtue and
" obedience: but no ſooner was ſhe freed from
" enemys without, then ſhe made herſelf ene-
" mys at home, and had every thing to fear
" from within, when ſhe had nothing to fear
" from abroad.

" His Eminence, wiſer than the SCIPIO's,
" took care that we ſhould not fall into that
" inconvenience, and taking warning from the
" faults of his fore-fathers, has preſerv'd Spain
" on purpoſe to exerciſe the valour of France,
" and to maintain its Empire for ever.

" Now pray, Sir, obſerve what a vaſt diffe-
" rence there is between this profound prudence,
" and the exorbitancy of Cardinal RICHE-
" LIEU! Methinks I ſee that immoderate ge-
" nius, not content with Flanders nor the Mi-
" laneſe, but laying hold of a conjuncture, which
" had not happen'd ſince the days of CHARLES
" V. to remit ſeven or eight millions to Frank-
" fort, and to ſend a mighty Army to the banks
" of the Rhine, to revenge our Nation in the
" perſon of LEWIS XIV. for the affront ſhe
" formerly

" formerly received in that of FRANCIS I. 1659.
" Methinks I ſee him enter into a new Alliance
" with Portugal, after the defeat of Don LUIS,
" and join our forces with thoſe of that King-
" dom, to drive the Catholick King from Ma-
" drid, without any reſpect to his ſacred and
" inviolable Perſon [s].

" Mean

[s] *The Emperor Ferdinand* III. *dy'd the* 2d *of April* 1657. *and Leopold his Son was elected Emperor the* 18th *of July* 1658. *tho he was not King of the Romans. Here M. de St. Evremond banters the Cardinal for his precipitance in making the Peace, and inſinuates that the Cardinal de Richelieu wou'd not have ſlipp'd ſo fair an opportunity to ſnatch the Empire from the houſe of Auſtria: and that by preſents or menaces to the Electors, weary of ſeeing the Empire continue ſo long in one family, he wou'd have gain'd their ſuffrages, and eaſily inclin'd them to put up another in Leopold's ſtead.*

[t] *After the death of John* IV. *King of Portugal, in* 1656 *the Spaniards thought proper to take advantage of the Minority of Alphonſus* IV. *to reconquer that Kingdom, and in the year following they made themſelves maſters of* Olivenza. *The Portugueſe, on the other hand attempted to ſurprize Badajox, but the project was ſo ill concerted that it did not ſucceed. Nevertheleſs in* 1658 *they came again before that City, and after having in vain beſieg'd it four Months, they form'd a deſign to retire. Don Luis de Haro being advertis'd of it, and knowing alſo that their Army was in a manner quite ruin'd, reſolv'd to go and put himſelf at the head of the Spaniſh Troops, in order to acquire with no great risk the glory of having reliev'd ſo important a place; but when he arriv'd on the frontier he found that the Portugueſe who wanted all neceſſaries were already retir'd. Being puff'd up with ſuch great ſucceſs, he contriv'd the conqueſt of Elvas, and went himſelf to beſiege that place, which made a vigorous defence for four months. Mean time the Portugueſe having rally'd a ſmall body of Troops, march'd directly to Don Luis, and after ſurprizing the Spaniards in their Camp defeated them; which put the whole Kingdom of Spain into a great conſternation. M. de St. Evremond means that Richelieu wou'd not have fail'd to join with Portugal, and to improve that incident to compleat the ruin of Spain.*

1659. " Mean time, it was a Chriſtian part to f
" give his enemies; it was generous in him r
" to puſh his victories to the ruin of ſo fair
" Monarchy; it was politic, not to extend o
" frontiers ſo far, as that the care of foreign a
" quiſitions ſhould make us neglect the ma
" buſineſs at home.

" I hear ſome of his Eminence's enemie
" who not daring to exclaim directly again
" the Peace, condemn the manner wherein
" was concluded; find fault with the Suſpenſior
" and his too great eaſineſs in condeſcending t
" come to Conferences, wherein every Articl
" of the Peace was alter'd, tho it had been ra
" tified before.

" I own, indeed, that Monſieur DE TU
" RENNE did all that lay in his power to diſ
" ſuade from this Suſpenſion; but he did no
" conſider the true motive of ſo glorious an in-
" terview: and while this great General's head
" was full of the conqueſt of Flanders, he knew
" not the triumph the Cardinal propoſed to him-
" ſelf, by a contention of wiſdom and reaſon.

" And, indeed, he deſir'd nothing more fer-
" vently than to let all Europe ſee the ſupe-
" riority of his genius; nor was he miſtaken in
" his deſign: for he always got the better of
" Don LUIS's underſtanding, who frankly
" own'd the aſcendent of his genius, and his
" maſtery in Politicks; but it unluckily fell
" out, that the too great ſtubornneſs of the
" latter, proved at laſt too hard for the reſolu-
" tions of the former. Thus the Spaniard in his
" groſs blunt way, carried thoſe points, which
" the Italian contended for with acuteneſs and
" juſtice. Not that Don LUIS's obſtinacy was
" always ſucceſsful; for when he boaſts that we
" abandon'd Portugal, and conſented to the re-
ſtoration

" ſtoration of the Prince of CONDE', we may 1659.
" juſtly charge him with an over-ſight in the
" ammunition he left us; and his ignorance in
" Arithmetick in the valuation of the five hun-
" dred thouſand Crowns that were aſſigned for
" the Queen's Portion.

" Let matters go as they will, his Eminence
" may ſecretly flatter himſelf, that he has made
" no unprofitable ſteps: Alſatia, the territories
" in Italy, the Abbey of St. Vaaſt, may com-
" fort him for the pains he has taken [y]; where-
" as the chimerical Don LUIS, who minded
" nothing but the publick Good, maintain'd
" himſelf all along at his own expence.

" It was to no purpoſe for him to put on
" ſuch a grand air in the general declenſion of
" their affairs, ſince he own'd their weakneſs, ſo
" ſoon as the Peace was ſigned: *Come, Gentle-*
" *men*, ſaid he, *let us go and return God thanks;*
" *we were undone, but now Spain is ſaved.*

" His Eminence does not much value that no-
" ble Saying, which would have fitted the mouth
" an old Citizen of Lacedemon; becauſe he
" looks upon theſe Exultations for the Safety of
" one's Country, to proceed from a Republican
" Principle. He thinks judiciouſly, that a Peace
" is always good, when it ſaves millions that
" would be neceſſarily expended in the Proſe-
" cution of the War. Let the well-meaning
" Don LUIS have no other end, than the Ser-
" vice of his Maſter, and the Publick good; it
" is the Cardinal's Maxim, *That a Miniſter does*
" *not ſo much belong to the State, as the State to the*
" *Mini-*

[y] *Cardinal Mazarin got a grant of Lands in Alſace, Italy, and of the rich Abbey of St. Vaaſt in Arras. M. de St. Evremond gives us to underſtand, that he concluded the Peace to ſecure the enjoyment of thoſe Lands, and of the Benefice.*

1659. " *Miniſter*; and for this reaſon, if God grant " him but a few years, he will get all the eſtates " in the Kingdom into his own hands.

" I pity thoſe rattles who reproach him for " making a Peace, when we were in a fair way " to carry all before us. I think I have ſuffici- " ently juſtify'd his Moderation; and I can alſo " alledge in his defence, ſuch Reaſons as he has " often given himſelf.

" *The French*, ſays he, *always carry their* " *views abroad, without ever looking at home*; " *and while they are bewilder'd with the af-* " *fairs of their neighbours, entirely neglect their* " *own.*

" *They will alledge, That after the Battle of* " *Dunkirk, and the Defeat of the Prince* DE " LIGNE; *that after the Surrender of ſome* " *Towns, and the Conſternation of the reſt, Flanders* " *could not ſubſiſt longer* [t]: *that the affairs of the* " *Spaniards were no better in the Milaneſe* [u]: *that* " *the overthrow of Don* LUIS *had filled all Spain* " *with terror, which was equally exhauſted of men,* " *and money; and, to ſpeak in the language of* " *Phyſicians, that its vital parts were no leſs* " *attack'd than its other members.*

" *But they will not ſay that Cardinal* DE " RETZ *made a tour into Flanders, and that he* " *left*

[t] *M. de Turenne having beſieged Dunkirk in* 1658, *Don John of Auſtria, the Prince of Condé, and the Maréſchal de Hocquincourt, who commanded the Army of Spain, attack'd him near that place the* 14*th of June; but were beaten. Not long after, M. de Turenne alſo defeated the Prince de Ligne: and in that Campaign, beſides Dunkirk, the French took Linck, Furnes, Bergues, Dixmuyd, Oudenarde, Menin, Ypres, and Gravelin.*

[u] *The Duke of Modena, aſſiſted by France, had paſſed the Adda in* 1658, *and taken ſome Places in the Milaneſe.*

" *left it ſo ſecretly, that they could never know the* 1659.
" *place of his retreat*[1].

" *They will maliciouſly paſs over in ſilence, that*
" D'ANNERY, *the ring-leader of Aſſemblies, had*
" *been tampering in the night-time with the Gentle-*
" *men of the Vexin; that* CREQUI-BERNIEUL-
" LE *had been met near Hedin; that* GRATOT,
" *the* MONTRESOR *of the Country, had made*
" *a great many politick Harangues at Coutance, on*
" *the publick Welfare*[2].

" *Nor will they take notice, that* BONNESON
" *had armed the Wooden-Shoemakers of Sologne,*
" *and encouraged that dangerous Party that was*
" *forming againſt the State*[3].

" There

[1] *John-Francis-Paul de Gondi, Cardinal de Retz, having made himſelf formidable to Mazarin, was arreſted at the Louvre the 19th of December 1652, and carried Priſoner to the Bois de Vincennes. On the 12th of April 1654, he was removed to the Caſtle of Nantes, from whence he eſcaped the 8th of Auguſt the ſame year. He went to Italy, and arrived at Rome the 1ſt of December. The Archbiſhop of Paris, his Uncle, dying during his Confinement; as ſoon as he was free, he did his utmoſt to be put in poſſeſſion of that Archbiſhoprick, of which he was Coadjutor. But not being able to ſurmount the oppoſition made againſt him by the Court of France, he left Italy, and wandered about no body knew where. Mean time Cardinal Mazarin was afraid of him; and hearing that he had been ſecretly in Flanders, and near the Frontiers of Picardy, M. de St. Evremond inſinuates, that Mazarin imagined that it was to foment certain diſcontents in Normandy and the Vexin, and to breed a revolt; and that therefore he haſtned with a panic terror to conclude a Peace.*

[2] *Here M. de St. Evremond banters Cardinal Mazarin for being afraid of three Gentlemen in Normandy that rov'd about the country, and were altogether out of a capacity to hurt him: Monſtreſor, the Author of the* Memoirs, *was one of Cardinal Richelieu's greateſt enemies. He was a man of Wit, and the Cardinal dreaded his credit with the Duke of Orleans and the Count de Soiſſons. M. de St. Evremond calls Gratot* the Monſtreſor of the Country, *to banter Mazarin, who was as much afraid of Gratot as Richelieu was of Monſtreſor.*

[3] *A little before the Treaty of the Pyrenees, the Boors of Sologne,*

1659. " There was ſomething yet more preſſin
" which nothing but the Cardinal's own Co
" ſcience could teſtify. What a mortificatic
" muſt it be to a great Miniſter, abſolute ma
" ter of the Court, to ſee three Governors c
" his own making, draw prodigious Sums c
" Money out of Flanders, without accompting
" with him? If we conſider the generous tem
" per of his Eminence, we may eaſily believe
" that he would ſooner have choſe to give up
" Corbie, Peronne, and St. Quintin, to the E-
" nemy, than ſuffer the Contributions of Arras,
" Bethune, and la Baſſée any longer [1].

" A man muſt dive into his very ſoul, to
" know what a vexation it muſt needs be to
" him, to be diſappointed concerning St. Ve-
" nant, when his Project of raiſing a Million
" from thence came to nothing, while it was in
" the hands of LA HAYE [2].

" Oudenard, Ypres, and Menin, did in truth
" maintain a great body of men; but when that
" was

logne, a little country between the Orleannois and Berry, revolted, and aſſembled together. This Inſurrection was called the Wooden-Shoemakers Rebellion; *becauſe in Sologne, which is a poor country, full of water, they ſcarce wear any but wooden Shoes. Bonneſon, a Proteſtant Gentleman, who was one of their Leaders, was taken and carried to Paris, where he had his head cut off. M. de St. Evremond banters the Cardinal for being afraid of that ſorry rabble of Peaſants.*

[1] *Before the Pyrenean Treaty, the Governors of the Frontier Places were allow'd the Contributions: the Governors of Arras, la Baſſée, and Bethune, were ſaid by that means to have raiſed vaſt Sums. 'Tis plain that M. de St. Evremond banters Mazarin, as if he concluded the Peace purely to be revenged on thoſe Governors, who would not let him go ſnacks in what they got by the Contributions.*

[2] *Cardinal Mazarin had given the Government of St. Venant to the Sieur la Haye, in hopes that he would be more honeſt to him than others had been; but la Haye took all to him-*

" was done, there was ſcarce enough to fill the 1659.
" Purſe of Monſieur LANGE. I go farther,
" and put the caſe that all Flanders had been
" ſurrender'd to us, we muſt have been forced
" to preſerve their Privileges, and to put up
" with a wretched hundredth-penny.

" No, no, Sir, ſo ſolid a Miniſter is not to be
" ſatisfied with Titles and Lordſhips. With
" him, that is called a true Conqueſt which is a
" real Acquiſition of new Treaſure: and, in his
" opinion, the reducing the number of Gover-
" nors, the diſbanding of the Troops, the re-
" trenching all Expences, yet leſſening none of
" our Taxes, is *Conqueſt* in a proper ſenſe, and
" as good as gaining a new Kingdom. If this
" be allowed him, I dare engage he will freely
" leave Spain in poſſeſſion of all its Provinces,
" and religiouſly promiſe not to diſturb it in the
" War againſt Portugal. The Indies are the
" only ſpot of ground which he envies Spain;
" but 'tis ſome conſolation to him, however,
" that the Spaniards are at all the drudgery,
" and that he ſhall always have the greateſt
" ſhare of their Flota.

" Thus, Sir, I have laid before you the my-
" ſtery of our Conferences, and the moſt ſecret
" thoughts of the Cardinal.

" If you would have me tell you the ſame
" truths ſeriouſly, and with another turn, you
" are to know, that the Spaniſh Monarchy had
" been ruined in caſe the War had continued;
" nay, we had ſufficiently weaken'd it by the
" Peace, if the Cardinal had not choſe to nego-
" tiate

himſelf, and laugh'd at the Cardinal. At that juncture it was not ſo eaſy to re-call the Governors of the Frontier Places; there was danger of provoking them, and reducing them to the neceſſity of delivering their Places to the Enemy.

1659. " tiate it by himſelf, without the participatio
" of any body. 'Tis a plain caſe, that h
" knew not the true degree of the Enemy'
" weakneſs and neceſſity. And Monſieur DE
" TURENNE's converſation with him upon this
" ſubject, ſeem'd to him to be the diſcourſe of
" a ſelfiſh General, that aimed to keep off the
" Peace in order to get an Eſtate by the War.

" The ancient Reputation of the Spaniards
" kept their preſent Miſery from his ſight; not
" being able to comprehend how a Nation ſo
" formidable heretofore, could be ſo near its
" ruin. Spain, Italy, Germany, the Nether-
" lands, which in effect were little better than
" names, gave him always a great Idea of their
" ancient Power: he did not ſufficiently conſider
" what a condition we were in, while his
" thoughts were wholly taken up with the for-
" mer condition of our Enemies.

" The Valour of the Prince of CONDE',
" deprived of the neceſſary means for acting;
" the image of Cardinal DE RETZ, miſerably
" ſculking to ſave his life, re-called the late
" Commotions to his mind, and made him ap-
" prehenſive of new Revolutions. He fancied
" three Norman Gentlemen, ſtrolling from
" place to place, and the poor forlorn Peaſants
" of Sologne, to be an Inſurrection of all the
" Nobility, and a Revolt of the whole King-
" dom. He imagined that all the world at-
" tacked him, becauſe he knew that all the
" world hated him.

" As he had a mixture of different thoughts,
" let us conſider how the motive of Intereſt
" worked upon him, next to the motive of Fear.
" Nothing made him ſo uneaſy as the unavoid-
" able Expences of the War; and he was am-
" bitious to be maſter of all the Revenue, with-

" out

" out being neceſſitated to employ it in the pub- 1659.
" lick ſervice. Then he concluded the finances
" to be entirely his own; and this was one of the
" principal motives to the Peace. The Inde-
" pendence of the Governors appeared to be
" another of his ſtrongeſt reaſons for it; and he
" always reckon'd in the number of the Towns
" left us by the Spaniards, thoſe that were to
" return under the King's dominion. But to
" ſpeak ſeriouſly, the vaſt Contributions that
" were raiſed, provoked his Avarice; and ſince
" he could not have his ſhare of them with the
" Governors, it was a pleaſure to him to hinder
" others from reaping thoſe advantages for
" which he was not the better.

" 'Tis probable that the laſt Campaign of
" M. DE TURENNE gave him ſome ſecret
" jealouſy[1]; particularly thoſe ſucceſſes wherein
" his vanity could not be concerned, as it had
" ridiculouſly been in the Battle of Dunkirk.
" Such extraordinary advantages without doubt
" ſet him upon negotiating, which he always had
" in his thoughts after the moſt proſperous e-
" vents; in order to let the Generals know the
" uncertainty of their condition, and to keep
" them in the ſame dependence, in the midſt of
" all their Conqueſts.

" Beſides he was afraid, that being incom-
" moded with the Gout and Stone, and conſe-
" quently not in ſo good a condition to follow

[1] *M. de Turenne, naturally haughty and ambitious, was a terror to the Miniſters when he had met with good ſucceſs. They were afraid that he aim'd to be at the head of affairs. Cardinal Mazarin was not willing to make him too powerful; Meſſieurs le Tellier and Colbert were likewiſe afraid of him, after the Conqueſts of Lewis XIV in the Netherlands, in* 1667; *and 'twas believed that this induced them, as much as the Triple Alliance, to conclude the Treaty of Aix la Chapelle the year following.*

1659. " the King, they might eaſily do without him " in the field. The remembrance of the late " exploits, made him apprehenſive of new " ones; and to rid himſelf of the uneaſineſs, " he choſe to conclude the War by a Peace of " his own making, rather than behold Conqueſts " after Conqueſts, wherein he had no ſhare.

" Moreover, he began to be weary of his ill- " uſage of the Prince of CONDE'. As his in- " dignation had exhauſted it ſelf at long run, " he reconciled himſelf to the thoughts of his " return; nay, ſometimes he flatter'd himſelf " with the pleaſure he ſhould have to ſee him " abandon'd by the Spaniard, and humbled be- " fore him. He expected to find a general " ſubmiſſion at the Conference, and there to " diſpoſe the fate of the whole world at his " pleaſure. But Don LUIS, who was ſupple, " in order to hook him in, became haughty " when he had him faſt in his hands; and by " his boldneſs in the Treaty, reſolved to retrieve " the reputation he had loſt by his want of " ſpirit in the War. And truly 'tis very ſur- " prizing, that the Grandees of Spain, who were " deſcribed to us ſo haughty, ſhould acknow- " ledge the Superiority of our Nation, by pay- " ing ſuch deference to the French, as rather " argued ſubjection than civility; and that the " Cardinal, who had the ſole care of the ho- " nour and rights of France, ſhould, with all " the power and reaſon he was maſter of, ſub- " mit himſelf to another. He might have done " what he would with a high hand: but having " choſe to gain his point by dint of perſuaſion, " and ſuffering Don LUIS to aſſume authority, " the Spaniards made the Peace as if they had " been in our place; and we received Conditions " from them, as if we had been in theirs. I

" have

" have been informed by ſome of them, that 1659.
" Monſieur DE LIONNE had proved a thorn in
" their ſide, if his Superior had not removed all
" the obſtacles which thwarted the concluſion of
" the Peace [1].

" This eaſy Temper of his made me reflect
" upon the different conduct of theſe two Mi-
" niſters; and I find that in private Affairs the
" Cardinal was full of difficulties, diſſimulation,
" and artifice, with his beſt friends: but that in
" publick Treaties, even with our enemies, he
" was open-hearted, ſincere, a man of his word;
" as if he had a mind to juſtify to foreigners,
" the reputation he had with us; and to caſt the
" vices of his conſtitution upon the defects of
" our Nation. As for Don LUIS, he was
" civil to private men, frank and free with his
" friends, kind to his own creatures: but in pub-
" lick negotiations, he cover'd a deep deſign to
" cheat under an appearance of ſimplicity, and
" had indeed but little honeſty tho he paſſed for
" a man of ſteddy probity."

I ſhall not ſtand to juſtify M. DE ST. EVREMOND as to his notion of this Peace: for you, Sir, have obſerved, that the Cardinal *concluded it ſo advantageouſly for Spain, and ſo diſadvantageouſly for France, that the moſt penetrating believed he did it at the deſire, or by the command of the*

[1] *The Marquis de Lionne and Don Antonio Pimentel formed the Plan of the Pyrenean Treaty; the one for Cardinal Mazarin, and the other for Don Luis de Haro. They had Conferences at Paris before the Interview of the two Miniſters; and during the Concluſion of the Treaty, they concerted between themſelves the things which Mazarin and Don Luis were to determine. M. de St. Evremond would have it underſtood that M. de Lionne was an honeſt Frenchman, very ſtiff; but that Mazarin was ſo impatient for a Peace, that he gave up thoſe points which Lionne was for inſiſting on.*

1659. *Queen-Mother, in whom the King her Consort had ever observed a Spanish heart* [1]. Mean time this Letter falling into the hands of the Cardinal's
1661. creatures, some time after his Death, the same was represented as a State-crime, which obliged M. DE ST. EVREMOND to fly his Country. That Affair happen'd in this manner. The King set out for Britany some days before Monsieur FOUQUET was arrested; and M. DE ST. EVREMOND being one of those named for the Journey, he left in the hands of Madam DU PLESSIS-BELLIERE, Mother to the Marchioness DE CREQUI, a strong Box, with money, notes, and several Letters. As soon as Monsieur FOUQUET was arrested [2], they were not contented with seizing all his Papers, but likewise clapped a Seal on what they found at the Houses of all such as were thought to be his Confidents; and did not fail making a visit to the Lady DU PLESSIS-BELLIERE, who was too great a friend

[1] *See the* Historical and Critical Dictionary, *in the Article of* Lewis XIII. *Remark V, Page* 1905, *Edit.* 2. *After Cardinal Richelieu's Death, the Abbot Montague, one of the Confidents of Anne of Austria, determined her in the choice of Mazarin for Prime Minister, by representing to her, that he was the most proper person to conclude the Peace, in such a manner as would not be prejudicial to the House of Austria. See* The History of Lewis XIIIth's Reign, by M. le Vassor, *T.* X. *Part* 2. *p.* 790, 791. The Queen's disposition, *says M. de Riencourt*, to give some Proofs of the grateful remembrance she had of the House of Austria, from which she was descended; and the tender inclinations which that Princess had retained for the Kingdom that had given her birth, were the reason that a Peace was proposed in the midst of our Victories and Triumphs: and this Queen not only desired that it might be proposed, but was also resolved, by a Suspension of Arms which was granted, to stop the course of our Conquests, and to set bounds to the great designs of our Generals. *History of the French Monarchy, &c.* Tom. I. p. m. 303.

[2] *M. Fouquet was arrested the 5th of September* 1661, *and committed to the Castle of Angers.*

friend to the Superintendant to be forgotten. 1661.
There they ſeized M. DE ST. EVREMOND's ſtrong Box, and the Letter relating to the Pyrenean Treaty, which had been communicated to none but the Mareſchal DE CLEREMBAUT, and two or three other perſons. Meſſieurs LE TELLIER and COLBERT, who were the Cardinal's creatures, pretending a grateful veneration for the memory of their Benefactor, read the Letter to the King, and left no ſtone unturned to exaſperate him againſt M. DE ST. EVREMOND. They put his Majeſty in mind of the great Zeal his Eminence had ever ſhewn for his Intereſt, and the Services he had done the State in the worſt of times. They added, that the Invectives of M. DE ST. EVREMOND reflected on the Regency of the Queen-Mother, and even on the King's Reign, ſince his Majeſty had thought fit to purſue the Cardinal's Scheme and Maxims. And, in ſhort, they told him the danger of allowing private Men to judge of State-affairs according to their caprice, and with impunity to cenſure the conduct of Miniſters: nor did they fail to make a handle of the friendly correſpondence which M. DE ST. EVREMOND held with the Superintendant, whoſe ruin had been reſolved upon. Theſe inſinuations made an impreſſion on the King, who ordered M. DE ST. EVREMOND to be committed to the Baſtille.

It happened that he was gone to ſee the Mareſchal DE CLEREMBAUT in the Country, not ſuſpecting what had paſſed. But M. DE GOURVILLE hearing that orders were iſſued to apprehend him, and knowing that he was returning with M. DE CLEREMBAUT to Paris, he ſent a man poſt to adverti ſe him of it, who overtook him in the Foreſt of Orleans; and upon M. DE GOUR-

1661. VILLE's information he retired to Normandy[1]. After having lain hid there for ſome time, he advanced privately to the Frontiers of the Kingdom; and at laſt reſolved to go to Holland, where he arrived about the end of the year 1661.

This, Sir, was the cauſe of M. DE ST. EVREMOND's Diſgrace, of which there had been a confuſed account. Verily he was too hardly dealt with: for when he wrote that Letter, he ſpoke to his Friend with the ſame freedom as he would have done in a private converſation; nor could it ever enter his thoughts, that his Letter would become publick. On the other hand, having preſerved a reſentment againſt the Cardinal, ever ſince his Eminence had cauſed him to be impriſoned in the Baſtille, it is not to be wondered that he did not ſpare him on this occaſion. If we add to theſe conſiderations, that the Letter in the main was ſolid and judicious, it will undoubtedly be agreed, that they ought not to have dealt ſo with a Gentleman of diſtinction, who had ever well-ſerved his Prince, and whoſe only Crime was, his being over-zealous for the Honour of his Country, and too well acquainted with its true Intereſt. 'Tis certain that M. DE ST. EVREMOND never own'd he had committed a fault, or that he had a wrong notion of that Treaty, as you will ſee by the ſequel of theſe Memoirs.

1662. M. DE ST. EVREMOND had too many Friends in England to make a long ſtay in Holland: he therefore croſs'd the Sea, and was no leſs welcome at the King of Great Britain's Court than he had been a year before. For I forgot to men-

[1] *See the* Memoirs of M. de Gourville, *Tom.* I. *p.* 319, 320.

mention, that as ſoon as King CHARLES II. was reſtored to the Throne of his Anceſtors, the French King ſent the Count DE SOISSONS over to England, to congratulate his Majeſty thereupon. Several perſons of Quality who had the honour to be known to King CHARLES while he was in France, made uſe of that opportunity to ſee England, and render'd that Embaſſy one of the moſt magnificent that ever was ſeen. M. DE ST. EVREMOND was one of that number; and during the ſix Months he ſtaid at London, he renew'd the acquaintance he had in France with ſeveral Engliſh Lords, and contracted friendſhip with others; inſomuch that when he came hither the ſecond time, he was no ſtranger to our Court. 1662.

The Dukes of BUCKINGHAM and ORMOND, the Earls of ST. ALBANS and ARLINGTON, my Lord D'AUBIGNY and my Lord CROFTS, were his beſt Friends. But he was moſt intimate with the Duke of BUCKINGHAM and my Lord D'AUBIGNY. The firſt was gallant, affable, generous, but exceſſively indolent, and conſequently a Squanderer of the great Eſtate he enjoy'd. He had a lively, gay, delicate Genius, inclined to raillery. In the Parliament he often diſconcerted the Schemes of the oppoſite Party by a Jeſt: he was a great ſtickler for the Liberties of the People, and the Toleration of Religions. He courted the acquaintance of men of Learning, and made uſe of his credit at Court to obtain favours or rewards for them. He compoſed ſome Pieces of Wit which have been the admiration of all England: his Comedy intitled *The Rehearſal* [1], is a

[1] *In this Comedy a Poet is introduced aſſiſting at the Rehearſal of one of his performances, which is an entire Chain of*

1662. fine Criticiſm upon ſome of Mr. DRYDEN's Plays, and other Poets of thoſe days.

My Lord D'AUBIGNY[1] having been ſent into France at five years of age, was educated at Port-Royal: he went young into holy Orders, and was made a Canon of Nôtre-Dame in Paris. After the Reſtoration of CHARLES II. he returned into England; and upon the King's marriage with the Infanta of Portugal he was made Lord Almoner to the Queen. He was a man of a great deal of wit and frankneſs, which made M. DE ST. EVREMOND extreme fond of his converſation. The Duke of BUCKINGHAM, my Lord D'AUBIGNY, and he, were together almoſt every day, and their converſation was often upon Theatrical performances, M. DE ST. EVREMOND not underſtanding the Engliſh Tongue, thoſe Gentlemen acquainted him with the beſt Dramatick Pieces compos'd in that Language; of which he retain'd ſo clear an idea, that forty years after he remember'd them very diſtinctly. The reading of them furniſh'd him with the Reflections he has made upon the Engliſh Tragedies and Comedies in ſome of his Works[2]. It was this ſort of amuſement too, which gave them occaſion to write the

of Extravagancies and Abſurdities; Abſurdities, which are taken nevertheleſs from the Comedies of that time, which becauſe of the ill Taſte that then prevail'd were receiv'd with applauſe. Two Gentlemen, Men of Wit and good Senſe, happen to be at this Rehearſal, who by the queſtions they put to the Poet, engage him to diſcover the whole Ridicule of his manner of writing.

[1] *Lewis Stewart d'Aubigny, ſon of Eſme Earl of March and Duke of Richmond; and Uncle to Charles Stewart Earl of Litchfield and Duke of Richmond, who died without Iſſue, in the year 1672.*

[2] *Vol. II. pag. 157, and 168.*

the Comedy of *Sir Politick Would-be* [1], towards which each of them clubb'd part of the Characters, which M. DE ST. EVREMOND reduc'd into form. 1662.

M. DE ST. EVREMOND alſo courted the correſpondence of perſons the moſt eminent for Learning in England. He often convers'd with Sir KENELM DIGBY, and with the famous HOBBES: but more eſpecially with Mr. COWLEY and Mr. WALLER, who had a vaſt ſhare of wit, as appears by their Poetry. One day, as Sir KENELM and he were talking of Philoſophy, the Knight told him, that having read the Writings of DES CARTES, he reſolved to go to Holland to ſee him. He found him in his retirement at Egmond; and after having diſcours'd with him a long time without making himſelf known, M. DES CARTES, who had ſeen ſome of his Works, told him, he did not doubt but he was the famous Sir KENELM DIGBY: *and if you, Sir*, reply'd the Knight, *were not the illuſtrious M.* DES CARTES, *I ſhould not have come over from England on purpoſe to ſee you.* Then Sir KENELM ſaid to this Philoſopher, "That our ſpeculative Diſcoveries were indeed pretty and agreeable, but "that after all they were too uncertain and unprofitable to take up a Man's whole thoughts: "that Life was almoſt too ſhort to attain to the "right knowledge of neceſſary things, and that "it would be much more worthy of him, who "ſo well underſtood the frame of the human "Body, to ſtudy ways and means to prolong it, "than to apply himſelf to the bare Speculations "of Philoſophy." M. DES CARTES aſſur'd him

[1] *See the French edition of M. de St. Evremond's Works.*

1662. him, *That he had already conſider'd that matter; and that to render a Man immortal, was what he would not venture to promiſe, but that he was very ſure it was poſſible to lengthen out his Life to the period of the Patriarchs.* When M. DE ST. EVREMOND told me this particular, he added, that they were not ignorant in Holland that DES CARTES flatter'd himſelf he had made this Diſcovery, and that he had heard ſeveral perſons talk of it who had known that Philoſopher: that DES CARTES's friends in France alſo knew it, and that the Abbot PICOT, his Diſciple and Martyr, being perſuaded that he had found out this great ſecret, would not believe the news of his Death, and that when he was aſham'd to doubt of it any longer, he cry'd out, *'Tis done and over; the world will ſoon be at an end!*

'Tis certain that DES CARTES thought he had found out a way to prolong the Life of Man: *I never took ſo much care*, ſaid he to M. DE ZUYLICHEM who aſk'd him what he was employ'd about, *I never took ſo much care to preſerve my Life as now: and whereas I thought Death cou'd abridge me of but* THIRTY *or* FORTY YEARS *at moſt, it cannot ſurprize me now, without depriving me of the hope of* ABOVE AN HUNDRED YEARS[1]. *For it ſeems very evident to me, that if we only guarded againſt certain errors that we are uſed to commit in our courſe of diet, we might without any other invention attain to an old Age much longer and more happy than now we do. But becauſe I have need of a great deal of time and experience to examine every thing proper to this ſubject, I am now compoſing* A ſhort

[1] *Des Cartes wrote this from Egmond in 1638, at the age of forty two years. He dy'd twelve years after.*

ſhort Syſtem of Medicine, *which I take partly out of Books, and partly from my own Reaſon. I hope while I am engag'd in this work, to obtain ſome reſpit from Nature, and conſequently to be able to proſecute my deſign better hereafter* [1]. M. BAILLET tells us, in the *Life* of DES CARTES, that the Abbot PICOT having accompany'd him to Holland in 1647, conform'd to his courſe of diet during the three months that he ſtay'd with him at Egmond; and "that he was "ſo pleas'd with it, that at his return to France "he ſeriouſly renounc'd that good eating and "drinking which before he liked well enough, "and was reſolv'd to reduce himſelf to the "Rules of M. DES CARTES, thinking it "would be the only way to promote the ſuc-"ceſs of the ſecret which he pretended was "found out by our Philoſopher, in order to "make Men live four or five hundred Years [2]." *This Abbot*, ſays M. BAILLET in another place, *was ſo fully perſuaded that* DES CARTES *cou'd not be miſtaken in his notions on this point, that he would have ſworn it wou'd have been impoſſible for him to die as he did at the age of fifty four; and that had it not been for ſome unaccountable violent cauſe (like that which put his Machine in Sweden out of order) he would have liv'd five hundred Years, after having found the art to live out ſeveral Ages* [3]. 1662.

The Diſpute between the Jeſuits and Janſeniſts making then a great noiſe in the world, and M. DE ST. EVREMOND having one day related to my Lord D'AUBIGNY the Converſation he had with Father CANAYE about the animoſity between both parties, my Lord D'AUBIGNY 1663.

[1] Lettres de M. Des Cartes, *Tom.* II. *p. m.* 374.
[2] Vie de M. Des Cartes, *Tom.* II. *p.* 448.
[3] *Baillet*, ubi ſupra, *p.* 452, 453.

1663. BIGNY was charm'd with the Jeſuit's frankneſs; and to ſhew that there was as much candor among the Janſeniſts as among the Fathers of the Society, he gave him the Character of the Janſeniſts, and diſclos'd to him the whole ſecret of their Cabal. M. DE ST. EVREMOND committed this Converſation to writing, and 'tis printed next to that which the Mareſchal D' HOCQUINCOURT had with Father CANAYE[1].

About that time, one of his Friends aſking him *what Sciences he thought it was convenient for a Gentleman to apply himſelf to*; he ſent him a ſhort Diſcourſe, wherein he reduces them to Morals, Politicks, and the Belles Lettres[2]: *The firſt*, ſays he, *has a relation to Reaſon; the ſecond to Society; the third to Converſation. The one teaches us to govern our Paſſions: by the other we are inſtructed in Affairs of State, and how to regulate our conduct in good or ill fortune; the laſt poliſhes the Mind, and inſpires what is delicate and agreeable.*

The *Reflections upon the different Genius of the Roman People*[3], which M. DE ST. EVREMOND wrote afterwards, have merited univerſal applauſe, and obtain'd a ſort of preference to all his other Works. He begins them with Remarks on the fabulous Original of the Romans, and the Genius of that People under the firſt Kings. He ſpeaks afterwards of the Genius of the antient Romans, in the beginning of the Republick, and in their firſt Wars. He confutes LIVY, who thought that the Romans would have vanquiſh'd ALEXANDER the Great, if he

[1] *Vol.* I. *pag.* 176.
[2] *Ibid. pag.* 49.
[3] *Ibid. pag.* 55.

he had made war againſt them; and ſhews, that the Conſuls, at that time, had not by far ſo good Troops, nor ſo great ſkill in the military Art as that Conqueror. He deſcribes the Genius of the Romans when PYRRHUS wag'd war againſt them; he treats of the firſt and ſecond Punick Wars; of the Genius of the Romans towards the end of the latter; and laſtly, of the Government of AUGUSTUS and TIBERIUS, their Genius, and that of the Romans who liv'd under the Reign of thoſe two Princes. M. DE ST. EVREMOND has treated of thoſe things like one who perfectly knew Mankind, as well as Affairs Civil and Military. He has enter'd ſo far into the Genius of thoſe antient Romans; ſo artfully unravell'd the different motives that acted them; and ſo well penetrated into the private views of their Leaders, that I may venture to declare, that nothing better has yet appear'd on the Roman Hiſtory. 1663.

But almoſt one half of this excellent Work was unfortunately loſt, as you have undoubtedly obſerv'd by the general account I have given of it. The vacuum in it was fill'd up by the Conteſt of GRACCHUS with the Senate; by Reflections on the Genius of the Roman People when JUGURTHA ſeiz'd the Kingdom of Numidia; on the ſordid Intereſt which was then predominant, and on the infamous Character of the Romans who were firſt employ'd in that Affair. Then came the Picture of SCAURUS; the War manag'd by METELLUS, his Character, and that of JUGURTHA; and ſome ſtrokes on the pride of the Nobility. Next follow'd the Character of MARIUS, with ſome Reflections on the arrogance of that Conſul: he there deſcribed the Genius of the People, who had aſſumed a tyrannical Superiority over the Senate,

1663. Senate, which went near to prove fatal to the Commonwealth. M. DE ST. EVREMOND gave, after that, the Character of SYLLA, and ſhew'd how he freed the Senate and oppreſs'd the People; and then ſpoke of POMPEY and SERTORIUS. He afterwards repreſented the State of Rome, and the Genius of the Romans, at the time of CATILINE's Conſpiracy, whoſe Character he deſcrib'd with that of CLODIUS and CICERO, and mention'd the Baniſhment of the latter; ſhewing the State of Rome, when the Government was divided between POMPEY, CESAR, and CRASSUS. In the laſt place, he laid open the motives of the Civil War between POMPEY and CESAR, drew the Characters of thoſe great Men; ſhew'd how the Senate was affected to POMPEY, and the People to CESAR; diſcover'd the ſentiments of the former concerning the Republick, and how his power was eſtabliſh'd to the prejudice of Liberty; and repreſented CESAR's gradual advancement towards abſolute Power. M. DE ST. EVREMOND had handled all theſe great ſubjects: but this part of his labours is loſt; and he would never take the trouble to recal it to mind and write it over again, as I ſhall more particularly relate hereafter.

He alſo wrote his *Judgment upon Ceſar and Alexander* [1], wherein he compares thoſe two Heroes with reſpect to their birth, manners, qualities of mind, actions, and conduct. *This*, ſays M. LE CLERC [2], *is a Piece full of good ſenſe and penetration.*

1664. Not long after, he wrote his *Judgment upon Seneca, Plutarch, and Petronius* [3]; wherein firſt of

[1] *Vol.* I. *pag.* 135.
[2] Bibliotheque choiſie, *Tom.* IX. *p.* 326.
[3] *Vol.* I. *pag.* 153.

of all he takes notice that he is not *affected* with SENECA's *Style*, that *his Latin has nothing of that of the Auguſtan Age*, nothing *eaſy* and *natural*, but all made up of *pointed turns and conceits, which ſavour more of the heats of Africa or Spain, than the learning of Greece and Italy. There*, continues he, *you ſee broken Periods, which have the air and turn of Sentences, but have no ſolidity nor good ſenſe; things which quicken and prompt the Imagination, without convincing the Judgment.* What he likes beſt in the works of that Philoſopher, are, the *Examples* and *Quotations* which he interſperſes in them. He owns he had a vaſt deal of Wit, and a competent ſhare of Knowledge, but he judges that his Opinions are too *rigid* and *auſtere*; and he thinks it very *ridiculous that a man who liv'd in plenty, and was ſo tender of his Life, ſhould preach up nothing but Poverty and Death.* Afterwards he compares him with PLUTARCH, and obſerves, that the Opinions of the latter are much *more palatable, and better calculated for ſociety than the other's*; that he *ſweetly inſinuates Wiſdom, and endeavours to reconcile Virtue to Pleaſures.* He is charm'd with that Author's *Lives of Illuſtrious Men*, which he looks upon as his maſter-piece. M. DE ST. EVREMOND proceeds afterwards to PETRONIUS, and obſerves that the love he had for Pleaſures *did not render him an enemy to Buſineſs*; that *he had the merit of a Governour in his Government of Bithynia, and the virtue of a Conſul in his Conſulſhip.* He does not forget PETRONIUS's Death, which he takes to be *the moſt glorious of Antiquity*, and ſhews that it has ſomething more great and more noble in it, than either that of CATO or SOCRATES. PETRONIUS, ſays he, *leaves us nothing at his Death but an image of Life; no action, no word,* 1664.

1664. *word, no circumſtance ſhews the perplexity of a dying man: 'tis with him, properly, that to die, is to ceaſe to live.* He ſpeaks afterwards of the *Satyr* we have under the name of PETRONIUS, and is of opinion that PETRONIUS at the time of his ſecret diſcontent, when he was vex'd to ſee NERO abandon his delicate Pleaſures for the diſorders of Debauchery and extravagance of all kinds, *compos'd that ingenious Satyr, which is come to us unhappily diſfigur'd* [t]. He diſcovers

[t] *M. de St. Evremond thinks this* Satyr *was compos'd by the ſame Petronius that Tacitus mentions. Many of the Learned go ſtill farther, and ſuppoſe this to be the very ſame Piece that Petronius ſent to Nero, to reproach him for his Debaucheries; and this is their ground for it. Tacitus tells us that Petronius was ſo diſtinguiſh'd for his ingenious delicate Taſte of Voluptuouſneſs, that he was the Intendant or Director of Nero's Pleaſures. But Tigellinus, who did all he could to throw the Emperor into the very dregs of debauchery, was ſo jealous of Petronius's agreeableneſs, and of the advantages he had over him in the Science of Voluptuouſneſs, that he undertook to ruin him. For this end, he accus'd him of having a hand in Piſo's Conſpiracy, brib'd one of his ſlaves to ſwear againſt him, and put moſt of his domeſticks in irons, that he might have no opportunity to juſtify himſelf. Petronius, who knew that Cruelty was Nero's prevailing paſſion, did not waver betwixt hope and fear; he reſolv'd to die, but in ſuch a manner, that he ſhould not ſeem compell'd or forc'd to it. He caus'd his Veins to be open'd and clos'd again ſeveral times, during which he took care of his domeſtick affairs as uſual, talk'd with his friends upon pleaſant agreeable ſubjects, and delighted himſelf with the recital of gay and merry Verſes. Tacitus adds, that inſtead of imitating thoſe mean-ſpirited creatures, who dying at that time by Nero's orders, made him their heir, he drew up an Account of that Emperor's Debaucheries, where he named the Proſtitutes and Women that were concern'd in them, and took notice of the Crimes therein committed, ſuch as were never heard of before; and that after having ſeal'd up that Writing, he ſent it to Nero.* Ne codicillis quidem (quod plerique pereuntium) Neronem aut Tigellinum, aut quem alium potentium adulatus eſt; ſed flagitia Principis ſub nominibus exoletorum feminarumque, & no-

discovers the principal beauties of that Satyr: he admires the *purity of its Style*, the *delicacy of the Sentiments*; but above all, the *great easiness* of that Wit in *giving us ingeniously all sorts of Characters*. He does not doubt but 'twas his design to expose *the Debaucheries of* NERO, *and that this Prince was the chief object of his Ridicule:* 1664.

vitate cujusque stupri perscripsit, atque obsignata misit Neroni. *'Tis pretended that's the very Satyr which bears the name of Petronius, and of which only a few Fragments are left us: but 'tis plain that they are two very different Pieces. First, according to the narrative of Tacitus, Petronius did not expose Nero's Debaucheries, till he had resolved to die, or even till after he had begun to open the Veins, that is to say, but a very little while before his Death; and by consequence the Writing he sent to Nero must be very short: whereas by the Fragments we have at this day under the name of Petronius, it appears that the whole Work was a very long Romance. The Manuscript of Traw, which is now in the Library of the King of France, shews that they are the Fragments of the* XVth *and* XVIth *Books of Petronius's Satyr. Secondly, in the Writing which Petronius sent to Nero, he nam'd the persons who were Companions with the Tyrant in his Debaucheries; whereas in the Work we are speaking of, all the persons have fictitious invented Names. Thirdly, Petronius confin'd his Paper to Nero's secret Debaucheries: whereas the Author of the Fragments that are left us, gives a general account of the Vices of his time; in which he has also mixed some Episodes. He is very merry upon the inconstancy of Women: he declaims against the false Eloquence of the Bar; complains of the decay of the liberal Arts; lays down Rules for the Epic Poem, and gives the model of a Poem upon the Civil War, &c. Fourthly and lastly, the Adventures or Intrigues he tells of, do not mean either Nero's Court, or that Emperor's secret Debaucheries. The Characters he represents are those of the common People, or even of the dregs of the Populace, freed-men, slaves, vagabonds, sharpers, &c. These considerations are sufficient, I think, to shew that the Satyr which appears by the name of Petronius, is a Piece very different from that which Petronius sent to Nero. If, after this, any will offer to maintain, that these two Pieces came nevertheless from one and the same hand, they will be oblig'd to give such proofs of it as have not yet been produc'd.*

1664. *but*, continues he, *whether he gives us the C racters of ſome people after his own fancy, o the life, is a thing very difficult to know, and we c not be poſitively aſſured of it.* Nevertheleſs, thinks *there's no Character in* PETRONIU *but what fits* NERO: but he is not of opini that he wrote that Satyr *with the ſame ſpirit th* HORACE *wrote his*; he rather looks upo him *as a nice Courtier that ridicules, than as publick Cenſor who makes it his buſineſs to blam corruption. If*, ſays he, PETRONIUS *had de ſign'd to give us an ingenious Moral in the deſcrip tion of Pleaſures, he would have endeavour'd t create in us ſome diſtaſte for them.* He would not have ſet off Vice with ſo many charms, and he would at leaſt have given us *ſome inſtance of divine or human Juſtice upon his Debauchees.*

About that time, M. DE ST. EVREMOND receiv'd a Letter from the Mareſchal DE GRAMMONT, who charg'd him with too much neglecting his own Affairs, and not ſufficiently importuning his Friends in France, to endeavour his reconciliation with the Court: whereupon he thought fit to write the following Anſwer to that generous friend:

" YOU reproach me for not letting my " Friends hear from me; to which I anſwer, " that a man muſt firſt know who they are, be- " fore he can write to them. When the world " frowns upon us, we ſhall find our ſelves miſ- " taken, if we lay any ſtreſs upon old acquain- " tance, whom we are apt to call by the name " of Friends. We frequently endeavour to make " our ſelves remembred by certain perſons who " are deſirous to forget us, and in whom we " rather create a diſguſt, than an inclination to " do good offices. Thoſe that are really wil-

" ling to ſerve us in our diſgraces, are impatient 1664.
" to ſhew us the deſire they have to do it, and
" their generoſity ſpares a Gentleman the ſecret
" pain which he always finds in himſelf, to ex-
" poſe his neceſſities. As for thoſe who expect
" to be courted, we may take it for granted,
" that they have already, as it were, form'd a de-
" ſign to abandon us; and that they look upon
" our moſt reaſonable requeſts as very troubleſom
" importunities. To apply this general Maxim
" to my own particular caſe, I will acquaint
" you, that I ſuppoſe I have already heard from
" all that are diſpos'd to intereſt themſelves in
" my behalf; and it would be to no purpoſe to
" trouble ſuch with my Letters, as have not yet
" thought fit to let me have any from them.

" Among thoſe Friends, whom I have real-
" ly found to be ſo in my ill fortune, ſome I
" obſerv'd were full of zeal and tenderneſs:
" others did not want friendſhip, but had
" a lively ſenſe of their incapacity to ſerve
" me; and as they were little concern'd
" to find themſelves without credit upon this
" occaſion, they fairly left me to bear all my
" misfortunes by my ſelf. I am oblig'd to
" them for the good opinion they have of
" my Patience; 'tis a virtue to which we re-
" conceile our ſelves as well as we can, but
" would willingly leave the practice of it to
" our Enemies. In the mean time, we ought
" to be content with the ſervices that are done
" us, without complaining of thoſe that are left
" unperform'd; and diveſt our ſelves as much
" as poſſible of the ſuggeſtions of Self-love,
" which make us think people more obliged to
" ſerve us, than really they are. Ill fortune is
" not content with bringing us into calamity,
" but makes us more tender to bear, and more

1664. " touchy to reſent every thing; and nature,
" which ought to reſiſt her, is in confederacy
" with her, and gives us a more exquiſite ſenſe
" of all the evils ſhe does us.

" In my preſent condition, 'tis my greateſt
" care to keep my ſelf from ſuch impreſſions.
" Altho I put on an air of concern, I have,
" indeed, brought my ſelf to a kind of inſen-
" ſibility; and my ſoul, indifferent to the worſt
" accidents that can happen, is affected with
" nothing but the good offices and continued
" kindneſs of ſome of my Friends. For theſe
" four years, ſince I came out of France, I have
" from ſix months to ſix months, undergone
" new hardſhips, which I make as eaſy to me as
" I can by patience. I don't love that unprofi-
" table reſiſtance, which inſtead of preſerving us
" from miſery, does only retard that familiarity
" which we muſt contract with it.

" Beſides, thoſe in whoſe power it is to do
" all they pleaſe, are not ſo ſevere upon us, as
" otherwiſe they might be, when they ſee us
" ſubmiſſive to their orders. Oppoſition does
" but inflame their anger, without leſſening their
" power. This ſubmiſſion to my ſuperiors diſ-
" poſes me inſenſibly to bear with thoſe who are
" not ſo. I hear my ſelf frequently cenſured
" without reaſon, and after a ſlight juſtification,
" becauſe I would not incenſe the world by too
" much argument, I patiently wait till people
" undeceive themſelves; and, in truth, there's
" more to be expected from time than from rea-
" ſon. In the heat of an unlucky affair, ſome
" think it a trouble to give reaſons, and others
" to hear them; but upon any change either of
" intereſt or humour, a man is ſometimes ex-
" tolled to the ſkies for that very thing, which
" occaſion'd his diſgrace. There are few per-

" ſons at Court whoſe reputation I have not ob- 1664.
" ſerv'd to vary twice a year; either thro' the
" levity of our judgments, or the diverſity of
" their conduct. I am ſo vain as to hope that
" the ſame thing may befal me; but rather
" thro' the reflections of others, than any al-
" teration in my ſelf. One day or other, I
" ſhall be accounted a good Frenchman, for the
" very ſame Writing which has drawn reproach
" upon me: and if the Cardinal were ſtill
" alive, I ſhould have the ſatisfaction to know
" that he juſtified me in his conſcience; for I
" have not ſaid one ſyllable of him, which he
" has not ſaid within himſelf a hundred times.
" As I was jealous of the King's honour, and of
" the glory of his Reign, I had a mind to de-
" ſcribe the condition we were in before the
" Peace, that all other Nations might acknow-
" ledge the ſuperiority of ours; and imputing
" the ill ſucceſs of the Negotiation to a foreigner,
" might reflect only on the advantages we had
" in the War.

" I ſhall conclude this melancholy Letter: 'tis
" a ridiculous practice common to people in diſ-
" grace, to infect all diſcourſe with the rehear-
" ſal of their misfortunes; and as they are
" wholly taken up therewith themſelves, they al-
" ways endeavour to poſſeſs every body elſe with
" them. The company of my Lord D'Au-
" BIGNY, which I am going to enjoy, ſaves
" me any farther impertinence; and you the fa-
" tigue, which you muſt otherwiſe have ex-
" pected. With him joy is of all Countries and
" Conditions; inſomuch, that in his company,
" an unfortunate man becomes too gay, and
" inconſiderately loſes that ſerious air, which we
" ought, in good manners at leaſt, to preſerve
" in our misfortunes."

1665. M. DE ST. EVREMOND was thus alleviating the ſorrows of his Diſgrace, when he was ſeiz'd with vapours that caſt him into a ſort of melancholy, and weakned him very much. The Phyſicians told him, that nothing but the change of air cou'd cure him; and that if he could not go to Montpellier, he would do well, however, to croſs the ſea, and ſtay ſome time in Holland. He cloſed the more eaſily with this advice, becauſe they then began to be ſenſible at London of that infectious air, which ſoon occaſion'd the moſt deſtructive Plague that ever raged in England.

As ſoon as he was arriv'd at the Hague, he wrote a *Letter to the Marquiſs* DE CREQUI[s], wherein he tells him, That *after having lived in the conſtraint of Courts, he has the comfort to end his days in the freedom of a Commonwealth, where if nothing is to be hoped for, there's at leaſt nothing to be feared.* He ſpeaks in praiſe of the Government of Holland, and of the Penſionary DE WIT: gives the Character of the Dutch Ladies, and a ſhort Deſcription of the Hague. Nor does he forget the Prince of Orange, then at the age of fifteen. *We go now and then,* ſays M. DE ST. EVREMOND, *to make our Court to the young Prince, who will have reaſon to complain of me, if I only tell you that no perſon of his age and quality, was ever maſter of ſo much good ſenſe and judgment.*

My Lord D'AUBIGNY was then at Paris, and had written to M. DE ST. EVREMOND, that before he went back to England, he would take a turn to Holland, from whence they two would go to ſee the principal Courts of Germany: but in the mean time, as he had no leſs Intereſt in France

[s] *Vol.* I. *pag.* 203.

France than in England, such strong sollicitations were made in his favour at the Court of Rome, that he was advanc'd to the Cardinalship, preferably to the Abbot MONTAGUE[1], who was also powerfully recommended. 'Tis true, he had not the satisfaction to enjoy his new Dignity long: for he died in the month of November 1665, not many hours after the arrival of the Courrier, who brought him the Cardinal's cap[2]. M. DE ST. EVREMOND was extremely concern'd for My Lord D'AUBIGNY's Death; and to give his grief some diversion, he sat down in writing the *Conversation* he had in 1650 with the Duke DE CANDALE[3]. *I do not pretend*, says he in the beginning of that Piece, *to entertain the Publick with my private concerns. It little imports others to know my affairs and disgraces; but it would be ill nature not to allow me to reflect on my past life, and to divert my mind from melancholy thoughts, to others not altogether so disagreeable. However, as it is ridiculous for a man to be always talking of himself, altho it were to himself, several persons will be introduc'd in this discourse, which will afford me more satisfaction than I can find in any conversation, now I have lost that of my Lord* D'AUBIGNY.

1665.

[1] *Walter Montague, Son to Henry Montague, Earl of Manchester, who dy'd in* 1642.

[2] *See the* OXFORD GAZETTE *Number* 1. *in the Paris Article of November* 14, 1665. *The* London Gazette *is only a continuation of it. When the Court retir'd to Oxford, by reason of the Plague at London, they began to publish that Gazette there the* 24th *of November* 1665, *and this lasted till the Plague being over, and the Court being return'd to Whitehall, the* 24th *Gazette of the* 15th *of February* 1666 *was publish'd with the Title of the* LONDON GAZETTE. *The* Paris Gazette *began in* 1631.

[3] *Vol.* II. *pag.* 1.

1666. M. DE ST. EVREMOND was ſoon known to perſons of the higheſt diſtinction in Holland. He was acquainted with the foreign Miniſters reſiding at the Hague, viz. the Baron DE LISOLA, the Emperor's Ambaſſador; Count D'ESTRADES, whom he had known in the War of Guienne, and who was then Ambaſſador of France; the Conde DE MELOS, Ambaſſador of Portugal, *&c.* The Count DE LIONNE, firſt Gentleman of the Horſe of the great Stable, and Nephew to the Marquis DE LIONNE, Secretary of State for foreign Affairs, was then at the Hague. He was proud of an acquaintance with M. DE ST. EVREMOND, and aſſur'd him, that as ſoon as he return'd to France, he would do him all the good offices in his power.

M. DE ST. EVREMOND took likewiſe a pleaſure in viſiting ſome Learned Men, and celebrated Philoſophers, who were then at the Hague, particularly Meſſieurs HEINSIUS, VOSSIUS, and SPINOZA. "The latter, *ſaid* "*he to me one day*, was of a middle ſtature, and "pleaſing countenance: his learning, modeſty, "and diſintereſtedneſs made him eſteem'd and "courted by all the ingenious perſons then at "the Hague. It did not appear from his ordi- "nary converſation, that he had thoſe ſenti- "ments afterwards found in his *Poſthumous* "*Works*. He admitted a Being diſtinct from "Matter, who had wrought Miracles by natural "means, and ordain'd Religion for the practice "of Juſtice and Charity, and to require Obedi- "ence: which, *added* M. DE ST. EVRE- "MOND, he afterwards endeavour'd to prove "in his *Political Divinity*." This ſeems, indeed, to be the chief tenor of that Book: but, upon a ſtrict examination, it will ſoon appear, that it ſtrikes at Religion it ſelf. SPINOZA did

did not lay himself open all at once. He still 1666.
us'd some caution, when M. DE ST. EVREMOND was in Holland: but, if we may credit Monsieur STOUPP, not many years after, *he said openly, in discourse, that God is not a Being endued with intelligence, infinitely perfect and happy, as we suppose him to be; but that he is only that Virtue of Nature, which is distributed to all Creatures*[1]. The same conduct is observable in his Works. His *Political Divinity* contains the seeds of his Atheistical Tenets, tho in some measure wrapt up and conceal'd; and 'tis only in his *Posthumous Works* that he may be said to have cast off the mask.

There was then at London, an Irish Man, GREATRAK's by name, who perform'd wonderful cures that seem'd to be miraculous. He was born in 1628 in the County of Waterford. He appear'd very devout, and his countenance was grave and honest, without any appearance of guile. He has himself acquainted us, that in the year 1662, he had an impulse, or a persuasion in his mind, that he cou'd cure the King's-Evil; which persuasion grew so strong upon him, that he touch'd several people, and cur'd them. Three years after, a Fever raging in his County, he imagin'd that he was able to cure it; whereupon he try'd the experiment, and he assures us, that he cur'd all that were recommended to him. In the last place, he had in the month of April 1665, another impulse, which inclin'd him to think, that he had the power to cure Wounds and Ulcers; which, he says again, was confirm'd by experience: and he also

[1] La Religion des Hollandois, *Letter* iii. *pag.* 93 *of the Paris Edition in* 1673. *See the* Historical and Critical Dictionary, *in the Article of* Spinoza, *Rem.* (C)

1666. alſo found, that he cur'd Convulſions, the Dropſy, and ſeveral other diſtempers. People flock'd to him from all parts, and his reputation increas'd to that degree, that the Clergy forbad him to undertake more of thoſe cures. Mean time, the Lord CONWAY's Lady having been ſick a long while, engag'd him to come over to attend her. As he advanc'd towards that Lord's Country-Seat, in the beginning of the year 1666, the Magiſtrates of ſeveral Cities and Towns, thro' which he paſs'd invited him to cure their ſick. The King being inform'd of it, commanded the Earl of ARLINGTON, Secretary of State, to order his immediate repair to Whitehall. The Court gave no great credit to his pretended power of working Miracles, but did not forbid him to appear abroad. Therefore he repair'd daily to Lincolns-Inn-Fields, whither incredible numbers of Patients of all ranks and ſexes flock'd from all parts. All he did, was only to *Stroak* them; and thereby all Pains, the Gout, Rheumatiſm, Convulſions, *&c.* were remov'd from one part to another, even to the extremities of the Body, after which they entirely diſappear'd. This made him be call'd the *Stroaker*. He aſcrib'd ſeveral diſtempers to evil Spirits, which he diſtinguiſh'd into ſeveral ſpecies. As ſoon as thoſe that were poſſeſs'd ſaw him or heard his voice, they fell to the ground, or had violent agitations. He cur'd them, as he did the other ſick, by ſtroaking them. However, every body would not believe his miraculous gift; and ſome ſevere Pamphlets were written againſt him: but he found zealous defenders, even among the Phyſicians. He publiſh'd himſelf in 1666 a Letter to the Honourable Mr. BOYLE; in which he gave a ſhort Hiſtory of his Life, and from whence I took the particulars you have been read-

reading [1]. To it were annex'd, a great many Certificates sign'd by persons of known probity; and particularly by Mr. BOYLE, and by Dr. WILKINS, Dr. WHICHCOT, Dr. CUDWORTH, and Dr. PATRICK, famous Divines, who attested the truth of the wonderful Cures he had perform'd: but, nevertheless, his reputation scarce lasted any longer than that of JAMES AYMAR [2]; for it appear'd, at last, that all those miraculous Cures were entirely founded on the Credulity of the Publick. It was even observ'd, that this Miracle-monger stroak'd the Women more feelingly than the Men; and people did afterwards make themselves merry with some intrigues he had with that Sex. The noise this Man had made, gave occasion to M. DE ST. EVREMOND to write a *Novel*, intitled, The *Irish Prophet* [2], wherein he nicely banters the Credulity of the people, and the spirit of Superstition. He shows at the same time, that there's no Conjuration can cast out that sort of Devil, which sometimes disturbs the peace of a family. 1666.

The Count DE LIONNE, was no sooner arriv'd at Paris, than he wrote to M. DE ST. EVREMOND that he had mention'd his Affair to 1667.

[1] *This Letter is intitled,* A brief account of Mr. Valentine Greatrak's, and divers of the strange Cures by him perform'd; Written by himself, in a Letter address'd to the Honourable Robert Boyle, Esq; Whereunto are annex'd the Testimonials of several eminent and worthy Persons of the chief Matters of Fact therein related. *London* 1666, in 4°. *See also the Writing of Henry Stubbe, a Physician; intitled,* The miraculous Conformist: or, an Account of several marvellous Cures performed by the stroaking of the hands of Mr. Valentine Greatrak's. *Printed at Oxford in* 1666, *in* 4°.

[1] *A Peasant of Dauphiné, who in* 1692 *and* 1693 *made a great noise in France, by the wonderful performances of his divining Rod.*

[2] *Vol.* I. *pag.* 189.

1667. to ſeveral perſons of diſtinction, who ſeem'd diſpos'd to do him a ſervice; naming in particular the Marquis DE LIONNE, and the Count DE LAUSUN who was then in favour with the King. Some time after, the Prince DE TURENNE aſſur'd him by the Count D'AVERGNE, and by the Count D'ESTRADES, that he wou'd be very glad of an opportunity to ſerve him. M. DE ST. EVREMOND expreſs'd his gratitude to him for remembring him, and begg'd him to continue to him the honour of his good will.

Mean while he did what he cou'd to make himſelf eaſy in a diſagreeable ſituation. Happily for him, he lov'd learning, reflected on what he had read, and knew how to write. A Man of Letters, never knows the plague of idleneſs: when the company of his Friends fails him, he finds a remedy in Reading or in Compoſition. M. DE ST. EVREMOND diverted himſelf with drawing the Picture of a *Woman who never was, nor will ever be found*[1], or rather in giving the Character of an *accompliſh'd perſon:* and he obſerves, that *he did not attempt to ſeek ſuch a perſon amongſt Men, becauſe there's always wanting in their converſation, a certain ſweetneſs which we meet with in that of Women; and that he thought it more poſſible to find the ſtrongeſt and ſoundeſt Reaſon of Men in a Woman, than thoſe Charms and Endearments that are ſo natural to Women in a Man.*

The converſations he had with Monſieur VOSSIUS, gave him the thought of writing down ſome *Obſervations* he had made *on* SALLUST *and* TACITUS[2], which he addreſs'd to that great man, whom he call'd his *Learned Friend.* He alſo compos'd ſome other Works, which I ſhall

[1] *Vol.* I. *pag.* 208.
[2] *Ibid. pag.* 224.

ſhall mention hereafter. Count DE LIONNE, who had ſeen ſome of theſe Pieces, deſir'd M. DE ST. EVREMOND to communicate them to him; but he ſent him only, *The Character of a Woman who is not to be found.* 1667.

M. DE ST. EVREMOND had a mind to ſolace himſelf for a few months, with ſome more lively amuſement; and reſolv'd to go and ſee Flanders. He ſpent ſome time at Breda, where the Peace was negotiating between England and Holland. He went afterwards to Spaw, and from thence to Bruſſels, where he ſaw the Princeſs of ISENGHIEN, and Don ANTONIO DE CORDOUA, favourite to Don JUAN, and Lieutenant-General of the Spaniſh horſe. In his return to the Hague, he went thro' Liege, where he got acquainted with M. SLUSIUS, a Canon of St. Lambert, ſo famous for his great knowledge of the Law, and the Mathematicks.

Some time after, Count DE LIONNE inform'd him, that the Marquis DE LIONNE deſir'd he wou'd write to him a Letter that might be ſhewn to the King; promiſing, at the ſame time, to back it. Hereupon M. DE ST. EVREMOND wrote to that Miniſter of State, the following Letter:

" Do not imagine, Sir, that I am over-fond " of foreign Countries, becauſe you ſee me em- " ploy ſo little care and induſtry to procure " my Return to my own. It proceeds not from " ſupineneſs; nor from a great affection to the " places I am in, or an averſion to thoſe where " you are. The truth is, I would not beg of " the King the leaſt alleviation, before I had " ſuffer'd what I ought to undergo, for having " been ſo unhappy as to diſpleaſe him. But, " after ſo many years diſgrace and ſickneſs, I " hope

1667. " hope I may be allow'd to lay before you, " in what manner I have fail'd; or if I dare " ſpeak it, clear my ſelf of the appearance of " a fault.

" As the cenſure of thoſe that are oppoſite " to us, is the niceſt commendation that can be " given us, I thought I did artfully contribute to " the glory of the genius that reigns at preſent, " by expoſing the ſhame of that which govern'd " heretofore. Not but that the Cardinal had " commendable talents: but thoſe qualities " which would have been applauded by men, " conſider'd purely in themſelves, are become " contemptible by the oppoſition of thoſe of the " King: from whence it comes to paſs, that to- " lerably great actions are eclips'd by others " more ſhining; that a leſs merit, when ſet near " a greater, looks like a defect; and conſe- " quently that the King's glory ruins the repu- " tation of his Miniſter: ſo that to find fault " with the deſpiſing what his Eminency has " done, is in ſome meaſure to be ſorry, that " what his Majeſty does, is admir'd.

" I own, that if the ſame Maxims that were " then follow'd, were put in practice now, it " would look as if an approbation of them " ſhould be requir'd; and we ſhould immediate- " ly give ours, out of reſpectful duty: but ſince " they are purpoſely laid aſide, and even the " moſt oppoſite Schemes purſu'd, there's a cer- " tain delicacy in not approving what's avoid- " ed, and 'tis a piece of prudence to reject what " ſo wiſe a King thinks not fit to do.

" Don't urge to me, that 'tis a crime to at- " tack the reputation of the dead: for if that " be admitted, he who ruins it, would be the " firſt and the greateſt criminal himſelf. When " he humbles the pride of the Spaniards, and

" the

" the arrogance of the Germans; when he 1667.
" debaſes Rome, and ſubmits himſelf to the
" Church; when he ſupports the Empire againſt
" the power of the Turk, at the ſame time
" that the King of Spain abandons the Emperor,
" and leaves the dominions of his family expos'd
" to the invaſion of the Infidels; when he
" makes War with ſo much conduct and va-
" lour, and Peace with ſo much ſpirit and wiſ-
" dom: what does he do, but condemn by
" his actions, what I have blam'd by writing;
" and paſs a more ſevere and more poſitive cen-
" ſure upon it before the whole world?

" Never doubt it, Sir, 'tis the King himſelf
" who has done the Cardinal the injury that is
" charg'd upon me: his Majeſty's ſhining and
" admirable qualities, his Actions, his Ad-
" miniſtration, his Counſels, have ſuggeſted to
" me the ſmall ideas I have of his Eminence;
" and in my preſent condition, I muſt ask par-
" don for a thing which 'tis not in my power to
" repent of. But what ſubject-matter of com-
" plaint has the Cardinal, which is not common
" to him with all our Kings? Have not their
" Reigns the ſame fate with his Miniſtry? Are
" not their atchievements cry'd down, and their
" reputation eclips'd, like his?

" In former times, we thought it ſufficient to
" maintain our ſelves againſt one Nation in War
" with us: but now a-days, all Europe, as one
" may ſay, in confederacy, is not able to ſtand
" againſt us. Heretofore we accounted that a
" glorious Peace, by which ſome place or other
" was reſtor'd to us: now the Spaniards ſeek
" their ſafety in the yielding up of whole Pro-
" vinces; and if juſtice did not ever regulate
" our pretenſions, the queſtion wou'd not be ſo
" much what they yield as what they keep.

" Formerly,

1667. " Formerly our Allies murmur'd for being ill-
" ſupported in the War, or abandon'd in the
" Peace: but in our days, thoſe who were fallen
" thro' their own fault, have been raiſed up a-
" gain by our aſſiſtance; and the influence of
" our Power has form'd all the greatneſs of o-
" thers. To adhere to us, is a certain advance-
" ment; to be divided from us, almoſt certain
" ruin.

" While the King acts as he does, he autho-
" rizes me to ſpeak as I ſpeak: if they will
" have me recant, let him grow remiſs; aban-
" don his Allies, and ſuffer his enemies to re-
" gain their ground. In ſuch a caſe, I ſhall be
" favourable to the Cardinal, and cry up the
" the ſame things I have run down: but at this
" time, when the Nations that adhere to our
" friendſhip, behold with pleaſure our preſent
" Government; and, on the contrary, the Na-
" tions oppoſite to our intereſt, regret with
" grief our laſt Miniſtry; all my reflections con-
" firm me in what I have ſaid; and my mind
" being ſteady in its firſt opinion, cannot be
" turned to other thoughts.

" If the King's tenderneſs continued to the
" memory of a Perſon who was dear to him;
" if the conſtancy of his affection for a dead
" man, have inclined him to take ill what I
" thought ſo much to his advantage, I beſeech
" him to conſider, that my Intentions are diſ-
" appointed. I did did not think to offend the
" niceneſs of his Friendſhip, and fancy'd that I
" had exquiſite thoughts for the advantage of
" his Glory. In all things miſtakes are excuſa-
" ble; but an error that proceeds from ſo no-
" ble and ſo excellent a principle, leaves no
" room for reſentment. Do not think, how-
" ever, that I hereby deſign to read Lectures

" in-

"instead of putting up most humble Prayers, 1667.
"and to instruct his Majesty in his Duty, instead
"of submitting to his Will. I expect his orders
"about my fate with a perfect resignation, and I
"am prepared with gratitude for a pardon, or
"with patience to suffer the punishment.

"If he be so gracious as to put an end to my
"Miseries, he will add the dependance of a
"creature to the obedience of a subject, and
"soften the constraint that binds by the affection
"which attaches. But I little consult my
"thoughts when I speak at this rate. The obli-
"gation in which I was born, is to me the
"strongest attachment in the world; and duty
"has the same charms for me, as favours might
"have for others. In most men subjection is
"only an apparent docility, which, while it
"affects a submissive air, stirs up inward mur-
"murings, and with an humble look endea-
"vours, by a secret resistance, to preserve a re-
"mainder of liberty. It is not the same with
"me. Nature keeps nothing in reserve for it self
"when obedience comes in question: the King's
"orders meet with no sentiments in my soul
"that do not either prevent them by Inclinati-
"on, or submit to them without constraint by
"Duty. What severity soever I undergo, I
"seek a comfort for my Sufferings in the good
"fortune of him who is the cause of them. I
"alleviate the Hardships of my condition by
"the felicity of his; and nothing can render
"me unhappy, since nothing can alter the Pro-
"sperity of his affairs."

But neither this Letter, nor the Sollicitations of the Marquis DE LIONNE, had any effect upon the King's mind, as we shall soon see.

1668. About the beginning of the year 1668, the Prince of Tuſcany came to Holland; and as he deſigned to make ſome ſtay at the Hague, he hired a houſe there, in which M. DE ST. EVREMOND had an Apartment, as well as ſome other perſons of Quality, who thereupon were obliged to look for other lodgings. M. DE ST. EVREMOND was preparing to remove like the reſt; but that Prince not only deſired him to ſtay, but likewiſe to uſe his Table whilſt he continued at the Hague. He has ever ſince honoured him with his eſteem, and ſent him a Preſent of the beſt Wines in Italy every year.

The Count DE LIONNE ſpared nothing to engage M. DE ST. EVREMOND to communicate to him the Works he had compoſed in Holland: he deſired him to ſend him his *Obſervations on Salluſt and Tacitus*, adding, that M. DE LIONNE, the Miniſter, would be glad to peruſe them. M. DE ST. EVREMOND's modeſty being offended at the Praiſes with which this requeſt was accompany'd, expoſtulated with the Count in this manner: *I muſt deſire you*, ſaid he [1], *not to jeer me at this rate, by beſtowing exceſſive Commendation upon trifles, which are the reſult of Idleneſs, and on which I ſet no other value than for the amuſement they afford me during ſome very tedious hours. I wiſh they may prove the like amuſement to you: and ſuch as they are, I'll not fail ſending you by the next poſt, the* Obſervations on Salluſt and Tacitus, *which I mentioned to you. The firſt aſcribes all to nature: with him all events are the effects of men's tempers; wherefore 'tis his chiefeſt care to give us a true knowledge of Men, by the admirable Characters he has left us of 'em. The other aſcribes all to politicks, and makes a myſtery*

[1] *Vol.* I. *p.* 218, 219.

ſtery of every thing, aſcribing all to Craft and Addreſs, and little or nothing to a Man's Conſtitution. From thence I conſider how difficult it is to find in the ſame perſon a perfect Knowledge of Men, and a profound Skill in Buſineſs; and in eight or ten lines I ſhew, that M. DE LIONNE, *the Miniſter, has reconciled two qualifications, generally divided, which are found in him in the higheſt perfection that can be.* The *Obſervations on Salluſt and Tacitus* do not come ſhort of the beſt performances of M. DE ST. EVREMOND. 1668.

" If our Grammarians, *ſays a learned Critick*[1], " knew how to diſcourſe and write after this " manner on the Antients, they would make " every body fond to ſtudy them; but their " Learning conſiſting only in the knowledge of " Words, Cuſtoms, and, at moſt, of Chrono- " logy, added to a blind admiration of all they " read, gives Gentlemen a diſguſt for Lite- " rature."

M. DE ST. EVREMOND ſent alſo to M. DE LIONNE the *Diſſertation* he had made ſome time before on M. RACINE's Tragedy, call'd *Alexander the Great*; deſiring him to communicate it to none but his intimate friends, and above all things not to ſuffer it to be copied out. But M. DE LIONNE acquainted him, that that Piece was abroad in manuſcript; and that BARBIN, a Bookſeller at Paris, was about printing it, with ſome other Works that were affirmed to be his: adding, that M. DE RACINE's friends were extremely diſſatisfied with that critical Diſſertation, being apprehenſive that it would do him an injury. M. DE ST. EVREMOND was very much ſurprized at this piece of news: " Madam BOURNEAU, *ſaid he in his Anſwer*

[1] *M. le Clerc* Bibliotheque choiſie, *Vol.* IX. *p.* 328.

1668. " *to M.* DE LIONNE [1], has ſerved me a very " ſcurvy trick, in ſhewing a confuſed Eſſay I " had ſent her upon *Alexander*. This Wo- " man, whom I often ſaw in England [2], and " who has a great deal of ſound wit, ſent me " that Piece of RACINE, with a deſire to give " her my judgment upon it; which I did in " haſte, without allowing my ſelf ſufficient time " to peruſe that Tragedy with attention. I de- " ſired her as earneſtly as poſſible, not to ſhew " my Letter: but being leſs ſcrupulous than " your ſelf, in following the advice of friends, I " find ſhe has ſhewn it to all the world, and has " now brought me into the perplexity you men- " tion. I hate extremely, *adds* M. DE ST. " EVREMOND, to ſee my name toſs'd about " in all places almoſt, particularly with things " of this nature. I am unacquainted with RA- " CINE; he is a great Wit, and I wiſh it were " in my power to ſerve him: yet his greateſt ene- " mies could not have done otherwiſe than what " I have done without deſign. However, Sir, " if, as you tell me, 'tis not poſſible to hinder the " printing of thoſe collected Pieces, I beg that " my Name be not put to them: 'tis better " they ſhould be printed by the Copy you have, " and as correctly as poſſible, than in ſuch a " confuſion as they have been handed about to " the Printer."

'Tis very probable, that M. DE LIONNE had no manner of ſhare in the Edition of ſome of M. DE ST. EVREMOND'S Works, that came

[1] *Vol.* I. *pag.* 246, 247.

[2] *Madam Bourneau, Wife of a Preſident in the Seneſchalſhip of Saumur, accompanied Madame de Comminges to England in* 1665, *when M. de Comminges came hither in quality of Ambaſſador from France.*

came out about that time [1], for he would not have ſuffer'd them to be ſo mangled as they were. 1668.

In the *Diſſertation* on the Tragedy call'd *the Grand Alexander* [2], M. DE ST. EVREMOND owns there are *ſtrong and bold Thoughts*, and *Expreſſions equally nervous*: but he thinks that M. RACINE has not well hit the Characters of PORUS and ALEXANDER. He finds that inſtead of making them ſpeak conſonantly to the genius of their Age and Nation, he has given them the humour and manners of French Men; charges him with *a deſign of giving a greater idea of* PORUS *than of* ALEXANDER, *in which he could not poſſibly ſucceed*; and of having *enſlaved thoſe two Heroes to Princeſſes altogether imaginary*. He blames him for *repreſenting* PORUS *muſing on his Miſtreſs, juſt before a great battle which was to decide his deſtiny*; *and for making* ALEXANDER *quit the field when the enemy began to rally*. He examines afterwards the uſe that ought to be made of Love in Tragedy, and ſhews that CORNEILLE has been no leſs ſucceſsful in that reſpect than in the Character of all his Heroes: he wiſhes that M. RACINE would imitate him, and learn of him the Art of painting Great Men well. M. CORNEILLE was ſo ſenſible of the Commendations M. DE ST. EVREMOND had given him on this occaſion, that he thought himſelf obliged to return him his thanks [3]. The Anſwer which M. DE ST. EVREMOND wrote to him, is ſtill a better demonſtration of the eſteem he had for that celebrated Poet [4].

[1] *They were printed at Paris by Barbin.*
[2] *Vol.* I. *pag.* 232.
[3] *Vol.* II. *pag.* 26.
[4] *Ibid. pag.* 28.

1668. About that time the Count DE LIONNE acquainted M. DE ST. EVREMOND that his Letter had been read to the King, but had not the ſucceſs that was expected from it; becauſe the Miniſters who had declared againſt him, and who had a great influence over the King, ſtill oppoſed his Return. *I knew nothing*, ſaid M. DE ST. EVREMOND in his Anſwer to the Count[1], *of what you write to me, none of my friends having been forward, any more than your ſelf, in giving me a melancholy piece of news: but this Diſcretion, as obliging as it is, makes me gueſs that they have an ill opinion of my Conſtancy. Seven long Years of misfortunes ought at leaſt to have inured me to Sufferings, if they have not been able to form in me a Virtue to reſiſt them. To end a moral Diſcourſe, impertinent to him that makes it, and too ſevere for him we entertain, I'll tell you in few words, that I ſhould have been glad to ſee again the moſt agreeable Country I know of, and ſome Friends as dear to me for the tokens of their Friendſhip as for the ſake of their Merit. However a man muſt not deſpair becauſe he lives in a Nation where delights are ſcarce. I content my ſelf with Indolence where I cannot enjoy Pleaſures. I had ſtill five or ſix years to reliſh Plays, Muſick, and good Cheer, and I muſt take up with Policy, Order, and OEconomy; and form to my ſelf a languiſhing amuſement from the contemplation of the grave Dutch Virtues.* He promiſes in the ſame Letter to ſend M. DE LIONNE three little Diſcourſes he compoſed in England, on *ſordid and baſe Intereſt*; on *pure and ſolid Virtue*; and *the Thoughts of a Gentleman who keeps a medium, and draws from both what ought to enter into civil Intercourſe*[2].

Not

[1] *Vol.* II. *pag.* 32.
[2] *Ibid. pag.* 34, *&c.*

Not long after M. DE LIONNE having acquainted him that he continued to ſollicit all thoſe who were concerned for him, particularly Madam * * * and Count DE LAUZUN, M. DE ST. EVREMOND returned him thanks for his good offices; but at the ſame time deſired him not to be too importunate with his Friends. *I am infinitely obliged,* ſaid he[1], *to Madam * * * for her kindneſs, and to you for your zealous endeavours: but I ſhould be glad, that for the future no body would ſtir up the Count* DE LAUZUN *to ſerve me; for I am ſure he'll do of his own accord all that lies in his power for me, without doing himſelf hurt, and I ſhould be ſorry to draw upon him the leaſt mortification. He ought to ſay nothing to his Maſter but what's agreeable, and hear nothing from him but what's grateful; for when a Maſter has once begun to refuſe, he eaſily gets a habit of denying other things. I have heard a great Courtier ſay, that* a man ought as much as poſſible to avoid the firſt repulſe; *and I ſhould be extremely ſorry to have drawn it on a perſon I honour ſo highly as I do the Count* DE LAUZUN. *Not but that I lie under a ſort of neceſſity of going to France for two months, unleſs I will reſolve to loſe the little I have there, and all that I have to ſubſiſt me in a foreign Country. There is, as I take it, about forty thouſand Livres ſtill due to me, of which I can get nothing: however, I fear more than Want, the relief of Nature, which might put an end to the ill treatments I receive from Fortune.* 1669.

M. DE ST. EVREMOND had no other thoughts than quietly to paſs the remainder of his days in Holland, when Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE delivered to him Letters from the 1670.

[1] *Vol.* II. *pag.* 124, 125.

1670. Earl of ARLINGTON, by which he was informed that King CHARLES desired his Return to England [1]. Hereupon he croſſed the ſea once more; and the King gave him a Penſion of three hundred Pounds a year. But England was not M. DE ST. EVREMOND's Country; and notwithſtanding the Civilities he received from all hands, he did not forget France. *I am returned to a Court*, ſaid he to the Count DE LIONNE [2], *after having lived four years in a Republick without pleaſure or delight: for, in my opinion, the Hague is the true ſeat of Indolence. I know not how I recovered my ſelf; but however, I long'd to feel ſomething more quick and lively; and the hopes of returning to France directed my views to London, as a medium between the French Courtiers and the Dutch Burgomaſters. Hitherto I might as well bear with the Heavineſs, or to ſpeak more obligingly, the Gravity of the Gentlemen of Holland: for I ſcarce find my ſelf nearer to France than I was; and the Vivacity I have ſtudied is very injurious to my Repoſe, ſince it keeps me off from Indolence without advancing me to Pleaſure: that, I mean, which I promiſed to my ſelf of ſeeing you at Paris; tho, to ſpeak the truth, I find here a great deal, amongſt abundance of polite and well-bred Men.*

1671. In the year 1671 the Count DE LIONNE informed M. DE ST. EVREMOND, that the Marquis DE LIONNE was dead, and that the Count DE LAUZUN was confin'd in the Citadel of Pignerol [3]: which news went the nearer to his heart, becauſe he thereby loſt two illuſtrious Friends who had great intereſt at Court.

The

[1] *See the* E. of Arlington's Letters to Sir William Temple: *Letter of the 29th of April* 1670.

[2] *Vol.* II. *pag.* 51.

[3] *This was for his attempting to marry Mademoiſelle, only Daughter of Gaſton Duke of Orleans. He was not releaſed till* 1682.

The Mareſchal DE CREQUI having asked him *what frame his Mind was in, and what he thought of things in his Old Age*, he ſent him a Diſcourſe [1], containing Reflections on the different Tempers of a man's Mind according to his different ſtages of Life; on the Reading and Choice of Books; on Poetry; on ſome Spaniſh, Italian, and French Authors; on Converſation; on Literature; the knowledge of Law; on Ingratitude; and on Religion. Of all the Works of M. DE ST. EVREMOND, there is none in which he has painted himſelf more to the life than in this. It ſhews him at one view, a Courtier, a Man of Letters, a Philoſopher, a Divine; and diſcovers a fine Genius, a delicate Taſte, and a nice Diſcernment. 1671.

Madam DE QUEROUALLE coming over to England in 1671, M. DE ST. EVREMOND ſent her a *Problem in imitation of the Spaniards* [2], wherein he puts the Queſtion, *which of the two is moſt injurious to the well-being of the Fair Sex, either to abandon themſelves wholly to their Inclinations, or to follow all the dictates of Virtue:* and *whether their indulging their Paſſions is attended with more Misfortunes than they are deprived of Pleaſures by a Conſtraint.* He obſerves that he has ſeen the *Voluptuous* lamenting themſelves for the contempt which Love has caſt them into; and that he had known *Prudes* groaning under the ſeverity of their Virtue, *whoſe Affections being reſtrained by their Diſcretion, ſought to vent by ſighs the ſecret torment they endured by not daring to love.* From hence he concludes, that ſuch a Woman is *happy who knows how to behave herſelf diſcreetly without checking her Inclination: for as 'tis*

[1] *Vol.* II. *pag.* 53, *&c.*
[2] *Ibid. pag.* 91.

1671. *'tis ſcandalous to love beyond moderation, ſo 'tis a great mortification for a Woman to paſs her life without one Amour.* Then addreſſing himſelf to Madam DE QUEROUALLE, he tells her, that to avoid this laſt misfortune, ſhe'll do well to follow an advice which he is willing to give her without any by-end. "Do not, *purſues he*, too "ſeverely reject Temptations, which in this "Country offer themſelves with ſuch modeſty, "that a Maiden may hearken to them without a "bluſh. Perhaps you are ſo vain as to be pleaſed "with no body but your ſelf, but you'll be ſoon "tired with being pleaſed and loved by no body "elſe; and whatever Complacency there be in "Self-love, you will ſtand in need of another's "Love, for the real entertainment of your life. "Yield therefore to the ſweets of Temptations, "inſtead of conſulting your Pride. The latter "would ſoon perſuade you to return to France, "and France would throw you into ſome Nun-"nery, according to the deſtiny of many o-"thers: but were you of your own accord "to chuſe ſuch a melancholy place of retire-"ment, you muſt before-hand be worthy of "entering into it. What a figure would you "make there if you have not the character of a "Penitent? The true Penitent is ſhe who afflicts "and mortifys her ſelf at the remembrance of "her faults; what can a pure Virgin, who has "done no wickedneſs, have to repent of? You "will appear ridiculous to the other Nuns, "who have juſt reaſon to repent, for re-"penting only out of mere Grimace." He lays before her other inconveniences ſhe will meet with in a Convent, and concludes with telling her, that whether ſhe lives in the world, as he wiſhes; or goes out of it, as he fears; 'tis her intereſt to reconcile two things which ſeem incom-

incompatible, but are not ſo, viz. *Love* and *Diſcretion*: but that the rule of Diſcretion which he propoſes to her, has nothing ſevere in it, becauſe it preſcribes the loving of but one perſon at a time. 1671.

There was ſcarce any reaſon to fear, that Madam DE QUEROUALLE would retire to a Convent: thoſe who had directed her Journey, had it far enough from their thoughts to make a Nun of her. She had been Maid of Honour to the Ducheſs of ORLEANS. CHARLES II. had ſeen her at Dover, when that Princeſs went thither in 1670; and it was obſerved, that he treated her with very great diſtinction. After the Death of the Ducheſs of ORLEANS, the Duke of BUCKINGHAM, who mortally hated the Ducheſs of CLEVELAND, the King's Miſtreſs, reſolved to make uſe of that Lady to ſupplant her. He repreſented to CHARLES II. that ſince ſhe had the honour to belong to his Siſter, it was proper he ſhould provide for her Subſiſtence, and ſend for her to England. This Project did not fail of ſucceſs. Madam DE QUEROUALLE was created Ducheſs of PORTSMOUTH, and took the place of the Ducheſs of CLEVELAND. The King of France came into the Intrigue likewiſe, but with very different views. He knew the Character of CHARLES II. and judged that Madam DE QUEROUALLE would win him over to the Intereſts of France. The event ſhewed that he was not miſtaken: the Ducheſs of PORTSMOUTH gained ſuch an aſcendent over that Prince, and had ſuch a ſhare of his Confidence, that her Inſinuations were the only rule of his Actions.

The

1672. The next year M. DE ST. EVREMOND wrote ſome Reflections on the *antient and modern Tragedy*[1]. He ſays that *ſo many Rules for writing fine Tragedies were never ſeen, and that ſo few were compos'd that they were oblig'd to act all the old ones.* He owns that ARISTOTLE's *Treatiſe of Poetry* is *an excellent Work*; but, adds he, "there's nothing ſo perfect in it, as to be a "ſtandard for all Ages, and Nations. DES "CARTES and GASSENDI have diſcover'd "Truths which ARISTOTLE was a ſtranger "to. CORNEILLE has found out Beauties "for the Theatre which he knew not: our "Philoſophers have diſcover'd errors in his *Phyſicks*: our Poets have detected faults in his "*Poeticks* at leaſt with reſpect to us." He obſerves alſo, that *the Gods and Goddeſſes brought about every thing that was great and extraordinary on the Theatre of the Antients, by their Hatred, Friendſhip, Revenge, Protection*; and that *of ſo many ſupernatural things, nothing appear'd fabulous to the common people, in the opinion they had of the intercourſe between Gods and Men.* But that *all theſe Wonders are now a-days look'd upon as fabulous. The Gods have nothing to do with us, nor we with them; and if an Author, in imitation of the Antients, would introduce Angels and Saints upon our Stage, he would offend the Devout, who would look on him as a prophane perſon, and be accounted weak by the Libertines. The Preachers wou'd not ſuffer the Pulpit to be confounded with the Theatre, and that People ſhou'd go to learn from the mouths of Stage-players, what they deliver to them with authority in the Churches. Moreover it wou'd be giving a great advantage to Libertines, who might turn into ridicule*

[1] *Vol.* II. *pag.* 101.

dicule at the Playhouſe, thoſe things which they re- 1672.
receive at Church with ſeeming ſubmiſſion, both in reſpect to the place where they are deliver'd, and in reverence to the perſons who declare them.

After M. DE ST. EVREMOND has ſhewn the inconveniences, of repreſenting the Truths of Religion, even in the moſt regular Dramatick Pieces, he adds, *But ſuppoſe that our Doctors ſhou'd abandon all ſacred matters to the liberty of the Theatre; and that the people of leſs Devotion, ſhou'd hear them with all the docility that perſons of the greateſt Humility can; 'tis certain that the moſt holy Doctrine, the moſt Chriſtian Actions, and the moſt uſeful Truths wou'd make the worſt Tragedies in the world.* The reaſon he gives for it is, that *the Spirit of our Religion is entirely oppoſite to that of Tragedy: the Humility and Patience of our Saints, cannot conſiſt with the Virtues of Heroes which the Theatre requires.* He is of opinion, that the Hiſtories of the *Old Teſtament* would ſuit much better to our Stage; but is apprehenſive that the Repreſentation of them would make them loſe part of their Authority, and diminiſh that Veneration they ought to inſpire us with. He ſays afterwards, that tho the *Pharſalia* is not comparable to the *Æneis*, the Ideas which LUCAN gives us of Great Men, are really more beautiful and affecting to us than thoſe which VIRGIL gives us of his Deities. *The latter*, ſays *he*, *has cloth'd his Gods with our infirmities, to adapt them to the capacity of Men; the other has rais'd his Heroes to a parallel with the Gods themſelves:*

Victrix cauſa Diis placuit, ſed victa Catoni.

In Virgil, continues he, *the Gods are not ſo conſiderable as the Heroes; in* LUCAN, *the Heroes equal the Gods.* M. DE ST. EVREMOND ob-

1672. ſerves, that the Tragedy of the Antients *wou'd have ſuffered a happy loſs in the baniſhment of its Gods, Oracles, and Soothſayers; for it proceeded from thence that a ſpirit of Superſtition and Terror prevail'd on the Theatre, capable of infecting mankind with a thouſand errors, and overwhelming them with more numerous miſchiefs.* For, as Tragedy conſiſted in exceſſive impulſes to *Fear* and *Pity*, the Theatre became *a School of Terror and Compaſſion, where a man learn'd to be affrighted at all dangers, and to be griev'd at every misfortune*; which broke the ſpirit of men, and even occaſion'd ſometimes the defeat of their Armies. 'Tis true, that ARISTOTLE being ſenſible of the prejudice which this *Fear* and *Pity* might do to the Athenians, endeavour'd to prevent it by eſtabliſhing a certain *Purgation*, which *no body has hitherto underſtood*, and it ſeems *he did not well comprehend himſelf*: but M. DE ST. EVREMOND thinks it *ridiculous to form a Science, which infallibly cauſes the Diſtemper, only to ſet up another, which doubtfully contributes to a Cure.* He afterwards extols the advantage of our Repreſentations over thoſe of the Antients, and ſhews that they are not ſubject to the ſame inconveniences: that the motives of Pity and Fear are much better manag'd; and that even Love interſpers'd in the modern Plays renders them compleat, provided we make not an ill uſe of it. He adds, that our Tragedy has, at leaſt, this advantage, that the Gods are not the Authors of crimes in it, and that it has the liberty to inſpire a horror for Vice, and a love for Virtue. He concludes with giving us his notion of Tragedy, and calls it *a bold and new Thought*, which is, *that we ought in Tragedy, before all things whatever, to expect a Greatneſs of Soul well expreſs'd,*

expreſs'd, that excites a tender Admiration; by which our Minds are in a kind of tranſport, our Courage is elevated, and our Souls are deeply affected. 1672.

He wrote alſo about that time, ſome *Reflections on the Characters of Tragedies*[1], which he begins with a pretty remarkable particular. *I formerly deſign'd*, ſays he, *to write a Tragedy; but what I found moſt difficult in it, was to guard againſt a ſecret ſuggeſtion of Self-love, which will not eaſily ſuffer a man to lay aſide his own temper, to take up that of another. I remember that I drew my own Character, without thinking of it; and that the Hero dwindled inſenſibly into the little merit of* ST. EVREMOND, *whereas* ST. EVREMOND *ought to have rais'd himſelf to the great Virtues of his Hero. It fell out with my Paſſions, as it did with my Character: for I expreſſed my own motions, while I endeavoured to expreſs his. If I was in an amorous fit, I turned every thing upon Love; if I found my ſelf inclined to Pity, I was not wanting to provide misfortunes for my Compaſſion. I made the Actor ſpeak what I thought within my own breaſt; and repreſented my ſelf under the name of another.* From this he concludes, that we muſt not quarrel with ſome Heroes of our Tragedies, for being too liberal of their Tears, which they ſhould only ſhed upon proper occaſions: for they are only the Poets own Tears, whoſe natural temper being too compaſſionate, they cannot reſiſt the tenderneſs they have form'd to themſelves. He afterwards obſerves, that the Poet ought to ſhew an equal management in the Affliction of the Hero, and the Tenderneſs of the Spectators, and to expreſs the Paſſion in ſuch a manner, that it be not too violent, nor too ingeniouſly counterfeit. He wonders,

[1] *Vol.* II. *pag.* 112.

1672. wonders, that in our age, when all Dramatick Pieces turn upon Love, we ſhould be ſo groſly ignorant of its nature and motions, which laſt he reduces to three principal Heads, *viz.* to *Love*, to *Burn*, and to *Languiſh*; and ſhews that our beſt Tragick Poets *employ one Paſſion for another*; as *Grief*, where it ought only to be *Tenderneſs*; and *Deſpair*, when it ſhould be no more than *Grief*.

A certain Author having asked his opinion of one of his Tragedies [1], M. DE ST. EVREMOND returned him an Anſwer, *That he ſhould like it pretty well, if he had managed the Tears of his Heroine with more frugality*; but that *he makes her weep to exceſs*. He ſhews how the paſſions of Grief and Deſpair ought to be managed; and concludes with a commendation of CORNEILLE, for having underſtood Nature ſo well and expreſs'd it ſo happily.

1673. The *Diſcourſe* which M. DE ST. EVREMOND wrote *upon the French Hiſtorians* [2], cannot be read with too much attention, by thoſe who apply themſelves to the writing of Hiſtory. He obſerves, that the French Hiſtorians are men of ſuch *indifferent merit*, that he once thought *this defect was to be charg'd upon the French Language*; but that he was of another opinion, when he conſidered the excellent French Tranſlations, and cou'd not help thinking *that the Meanneſs of the French Genius is below the Majeſty of Hiſtory*. He adds, that altho the French had among them ſome perſons of an elevated Genius; yet they would want other things, too many to be met with in one and the ſame perſon. A pure and noble Style is not ſufficient: an Hiſtorian ought alſo

[1] *Vol.* II. *pag.* 121.
[2] *Ibid. pag.* 126.

also to be thorowly acquainted with the Laws, Customs, different Interests, state of Religion; and, in particular, all that belongs to the military Art. All this he proves by a pretty long detail; and shews, in relation to this last particular, that the celebrated GROTIUS, after he had performed so well in all the other parts of his *History of the Netherlands, sunk in the esteem of his Readers*, as soon as he came to *open the scene of War, to speak of the motions of Armies, to describe Sieges, and relate Battles.* He says afterwards, that the Latin Historians *had a surprizing happy mixture of all the different parts of knowledge* he speaks of; the reason of which is, that *whereas now-a-days every profession takes up a man's whole application*, there were *few great men at Rome, but what pass'd thro' the Dignities of the Priesthood, were of the Senate, and taken from thence to the Command of Armies.* He admires the beauty of their Narratives, and the spirit of their Harangues. But he makes it his particular study to display the prodigious skill they had in drawing *Characters.* They *blend opposite Qualities which one wou'd not imagine to find in one and the same person*, and *discover a difference* in such *as seem to be altogether the same.* They do not content themselves with describing Virtues and Vices; but mark a certain Difference between each Virtue, or Vice. If, for instance-sake, they draw the Character of some ambitious and daring, or moderate and prudent Man, they describe the species of the ambition and daringness, or of the moderation and prudence that he had. 1673.

In the *Reflections upon the French Translators*[1], M. DE ST. EVREMOND commends, in the

[1] *Vol.* II. *pag.* 144.

1673. first place, the Translations of M. D' ABLANCOURT, not so much for their being faithful and exact, as for the strength and justness of his Expressions. However, he is of opinion, that *he is obliged for these advantages to the Style of the Antients, which rules his own*; for he does not find the same Beauties in his Prefaces and Letters, wherein he follows *his own Genius*. He afterwards makes some Reflections on the usefulness of *Translations*; and adds, that the bare talent of a *Translator* merits no great esteem, unless it be supported by other accomplishments: *I may have a very great esteem*, says he, *for the Versions of* D' ABLANCOURT, VAUGELAS, DU RYER, CHARPENTIER, *and many others, without setting a value upon their wit, if it did not appear from their own Compositions.* Then he examines, in particular, M. DE BREBEUF's Translation of LUCAN's *Pharsalia*, and that of VIRGIL's *Æneid* by M. SEGRAIS: from whence he takes occasion to speak of *the little merit of honest* ÆNEAS. *When* VIRGIL, says he, *paints him so Devout, he ought to have given him a Devotion full of confidence, which is agreeable to the temper of Heroes, and not a scrupulous sense of Religion, which never subsists with true Valour.* He cannot bear that *the Son of* VENUS, *after being assur'd by* JUPITER *of his present Happiness and future Glory, should shew his Piety only in fearing Danger, and distrusting the success of every Enterprize.* He observes, that *the Gods abandon all causes of Tears to* ÆNEAS: *but as soon as there is a great Resolution to take, or a difficult thing to be put in execution, they trust neither to his Capacity nor his Courage; and they generally do what great Men are used to undertake and execute elsewhere.* This was *a sorry Hero in Paganism, who might be a great*

great Saint among the Chriſtians; very proper to work Miracles, and fitter to be the Founder of a religious Order than a State. He compares the *Characters* of HOMER with thoſe of VIRGIL; and concludes with obſerving how much we ought to admire the Beauties of VIRGIL's *Poetry*, ſince *notwithſtanding the Virtue of* HOMER's *Heroes, and the worthleſſneſs of his own; the beſt Criticks do not think the latter inferior to the former.* 1673.

The Count D'OLONNE, M. DE VINEUIL, the Abbot D'EFFIAT, and two or three more, were baniſh'd the Court of France in 1674, for having talked too freely of the King. As ſoon as M. DE ST. EVREMOND had notice of the Diſgrace of the Count, he wrote to acquaint him with his deep concern at it; and being afterwards informed, that he was permitted to leave Orleans, where he was at firſt confined, and to retire to his Country-Seat of Montmirel, near Villers-Cotterets, he ſent him a ſecond Letter [1], wherein he adviſes him to be carefully upon his guard againſt Melancholy, at a time when it was not in his power to reliſh Joy. He gives him advice in the choice of the moſt exquiſite Wines, and the moſt wholeſom and niceſt Diſhes, and to read ſuch Books only, as may divert his mind from all ſad and ſerious thoughts, and give him pleaſant ideas: for which purpoſe, he thinks that PETRONIUS, LUCIAN, and DON QUIXOT, are to be preferr'd before SENECA, PLUTARCH, and even MONTAIGNE. He obviates an objection at the ſame time which Monſieur D'OLONNE might have made: "You will tell "me, perhaps, *ſays* M. DE ST. EVREMOND, "that 1674.

[1] *Vol.* II. *pag.* 94.

1674. " that I was not of ſo gay a humour in my own " Misfortunes, as I appear to be in yours; and " that 'tis ill breeding in a man to beſtow all " his concern upon his own Misfortunes, and " be indifferent to, nay and even merry with " the Calamities of his Friends. I ſhould agree " with you in that, if I behav'd my ſelf ſo: " but I can truly ſay it, that I am no leſs con- " cern'd at your Exile than your ſelf; and the " mirth which I adviſe you to, is in order to " have a ſhare of it my ſelf, when I ſhall find " you capable of receiving any. As for what " relates to my own Misfortunes, if I have for- " merly appear'd to you more afflicted than I " ſeem to you at preſent, 'tis not becauſe I was " ſo indeed. I was of opinion, that Diſgraces " exacted from us the decorum of a melancho- " ly Air; and that this apparent Mortification " was a reſpect due to the will of our Superiors, " who ſeldom puniſh us without a deſign to af- " flict us. But then you are to know, that un- " der a ſad outſide, and a mortified counte- " nance, I gave my ſelf all the ſatisfaction I " could find in my own breaſt; and all the " pleaſure I could take in the Converſation of " my Friends."

When the Marquis DE CROISSI was Ambaſſador at the Court of England, M. DE ST. EVREMOND deſir'd him to write in his behalf to Monſieur COLBERT his Brother; but M. COLBERT return'd him an anſwer, ingenuouſly, That *having contributed to M.* DE ST. EVREMOND'S *Diſgrace, and ever oppos'd his return, he could not ſpeak in his favour to the King; but, however, he would not be ſorry for his Return, nor oppoſe the Sollicitations which others might make for him.* Had M. LE TELLIER entertain'd

tain'd the ſame thoughts, M. DE ST. EVREMOND's Diſgrace would ſoon have been at an end; but that Miniſter had no favourable diſpoſition towards him. 1674.

HORTENSIA MANCINI, Ducheſs of MAZARIN, came at this time into England. She was Niece to Cardinal MAZARIN, and Heireſs to his immenſe Eſtate. He marry'd her in 1661 to the Duke DE LA MEILLERAYE, on condition that he ſhould bear the Name and Arms of MAZARIN. He was one of the richeſt Noblemen at Court; which ſingle conſideration determin'd the Cardinal to give him his Niece. Madam MAZARIN had a lively penetrating Wit, noble and elevated Sentiments, free and eaſy Behaviour, with other engaging Charms, which affected the moſt inſenſible. During the firſt five years of their Marriage, ſhe was ſo regular and ſober in her Deportment, that ſhe was the admiration of the whole Court. But Monſieur MAZARIN was not born for a Lady ſo accompliſh'd. All his qualities were the very oppoſites of hers. He had low grovelling Sentiments, a ſullen, rigid, contradicting Temper, a mind bigotted to Superſtition and Enthuſiaſm. He was always encompaſs'd with a parcel of Monks, and Devotees of both ſexes, on whom he ſquander'd his great Eſtate. *Madam* MAZARIN, ſays M. DE ST. EVREMOND[1], *was by her hard fate compelled to live with Monſieur* MAZARIN. *Joining the Living to the Dead is not a more cruel Puniſhment, than linking Prudence to its reverſe; yet, this torment was Madam* MAZARIN *forced to endure for five whole years: was beſieg'd* 1675.

[1] Anſwer to the Pleading of M. Erard, *Vol.* III. *p.* 27, 28.

1675. *by day, frighted by night* [1], *fatigu'd with Journeys after Journeys to no manner of purpoſe; made a ſlave to extravagant and tyrannical Orders; ſaw none about her but ſpys or enemies; and what is worſe than all, in her misfortunes had no body to comfort her. Any other Woman would have defended herſelf from oppreſſion by an open reſiſtance: Madam* MAZARIN *only reſolv'd to fly from her Misfortunes, and to go and ſeek at the place where ſhe was born, among her Relations* [2], *that Security and Repoſe which ſhe had loſt.*

She went to Italy in 1668, and after two years ſtay there, made a Journey to France, to endeavour to get a Penſion from Monſieur MAZARIN. The King procur'd her one of 24000 Livres, but ſhe did not enjoy it long. As ſoon as ſhe had obtain'd it, ſhe return'd to Italy, and ſtay'd there till 1672, that her Siſter, the Lady of the Conſtable COLONNA, reſolved to leave her Huſband. Madam MAZARIN accompany'd her to France, and retir'd afterwards to the Dominions of the Duke of Savoy [3]. She choſe to make Chambery the place of her Retreat; and ſhe had been there three years, when a Propoſal was made to her to come to England. The Duke of Savoy, who had

[1] *This refers to what he had ſaid before, p.* 25. She expected the Reſt of the Night, which is allow'd to the moſt Unfortunate, to ſuſpend the ſenſe of their Sufferings; but this relief was denied her. No ſooner were her fair Eyes clos'd, but Monſieur Mazarin (who had the Devil always preſent in his black Imagination), this amiable Husband, wakes his beſt-beloved, to make her partaker . . . . . you will never be able to gueſs of what, Gentlemen; to make her partaker of his nocturnal Viſions. Flambeaus are lighted, and ſearch is made every where; but no Spectre does Madam Mazarin find, except that which lay by her in bed.

[2] *Rome.*

[3] *See the* Memoirs of the Ducheſs of Mazarin, *in the third Volume, p.* 105, *&c.*

had intended to marry her [1], and had given her so many marks of his favour, was just dead. *This Prince* [2] *had the same sentiments of her as all had who saw her. He had admir'd her at Turin, and this admiration the Duchess Regent interpreted to be Love, and entertain'd such a jealous peevish impression, as occasion'd a Procedure that was disobliging to the Lady who was the cause of it. There needed no more than this to oblige Madam* MAZARIN *to quit a Country where the new Regent was absolute. To depart from her, and to go to the Duchess of York, was but one and the same resolution.* 1675.

'Tis certain that Madam MAZARIN declar'd that she was going to England, to see her Kinswoman the Duchess of York [3]: mean time you suspect, Sir, that this was only a pretence, and that the true motive of it was conceal'd. Your suspicion is very well grounded; but in order to unfold the mystery, I must put you in mind of the then situation of the Court of England.

I told you before of the great ascendant the Duchess of PORTSMOUTH had over King CHARLES the Second. The natural Indolence of that Prince, and the Passion he had for the fair Sex, entirely enslaved him to his Mistresses; and the Duchess of PORTSMOUTH was the Favourite. She govern'd him according to the dictates of the Court of France. The King of

[1] Memoirs of the Duchess of Mazarin, *p.* 111.

[2] *M. de St. Evremond in* the Funeral Oration of the Duchess of Mazarin, *Vol.* II. *p.* 320, 321.

[3] *Mary of Este, Duchess of York, was Grand-daughter of Laura-Margaretta Mazarini Martinozzi, Sister to Hieronyma Mazarini Mancini, Mother to the Duchess of Mazarin. Consequently Madame Mazarin was first Cousin to the Duchess of York.*

1675. England forgetting the true intereſts of his Kingdom, and his own too, ſcandalouſly became a Penſioner to LEWIS XIV. The Advocates for Liberty being excluded from Poſts and the management of Affairs, contriv'd ſeveral ways to free their Country from that infamous Commerce; but finding them ineffectual, they at laſt concluded, that there was no other courſe to take, than to work the Ducheſs of PORTSMOUTH out of the King's favour, by ſetting up againſt her a Rival, who ſhould be in their intereſt. The Ducheſs of MAZARIN was thought very fit for their purpoſe; for ſhe outſhin'd the other both in Wit and Beauty; and King CHARLES, when he was abroad, had demanded her in Marriage.

That Prince, repairing to Fontarabia when the Peace between France and Spain was treating there, deſir'd Cardinal MAZARIN to grant him an Interview; but the Cardinal, for fear of the Engliſh Parliament, refus'd to ſee him, and only agreed to confer with the Marquis of ORMOND[1]. The Marquis made ſeveral Overtures to him, to incline him to eſpouſe the intereſt of his Royal Maſter; and, among other things, propoſed a Match between that Prince and HORTENSIA MANCINI, the Cardinal's Niece: but that Miniſter, who thought the King of England's Reſtoration deſperate, would

[1] The King of England .... was oblig'd to comply with the Expedient that he thought the Cardinal wanted, *viz.* That the Marquis of Ormond going one day towards St. John de Luz, met Cardinal Mazarin upon his Road to the Iſle of Conference, and falling into diſcourſe with him, they talk'd of the Intereſts of his Britannic Majeſty. *Hiſt. of the Peace concluded on the Frontiers of France and Spain, between the two Crowns, Anno* 1659, *&c. p.* 66. *of the Cologn Edition* 1667.

would not hearken to it. However, King CHARLES was not diſcouraged by this denial. Hearing that the Cardinal was gone to Touloufe to meet the King, he ſent thither Mr. BERKLEY, afterwards Earl of Falmouth. Mr. BERKLEY applied himſelf to M. DE ST. EVREMOND, who introduced him to the Cardinal: but that Miniſter looking always upon King CHARLES as a Fugitive, turn'd out of his Dominions, refus'd him his Niece a ſecond time. However, as ſoon as he ſaw him ſettled on the Throne of his Anceſtors, he endeavour'd to renew the Negotiation. The better to ſucceed in it, he engag'd the Queen of England to croſs the Sea, under pretence of a congratulatory Viſit upon the Reſtoration of the King her Son; but, in reality, to acquaint him, that the Cardinal was diſpos'd to grant him his requeſt. King CHARLES look'd upon this change of the Cardinal, as an additional Happineſs which fortune had in ſtore for him: the Charms of Mademoiſelle MANCINI, and a Portion of twenty Millions of Livres, were powerful attractives. But his Miniſters oppos'd this Match, which might have prevented all the Diſaſters that happened afterwards in England. M. DE ST. EVREMOND did not forget a Circumſtance ſo glorious to Madam MAZARIN: *She had Charms*, ſays he [1], *that might engage Kings to court her from Affection, and a Fortune capable to oblige them to it by Intereſt. A favourable conjuncture uniting with theſe great motives, the King of Great Britain ſent to demand her in Marriage, and the Cardinal, who was fitter to govern Sovereigns than to make them, loſt an opportunity which he* 1675.

[1] *The* Funeral Oration of the Ducheſs of Mazarin, *Vol.* II. *p.* 312, 313.

1675. *he afterwards courted in vain. The Queen-Mother of the King of England undertook to negotiate it her ſelf: but a King Reſtor'd, remember'd the little regard that had been ſhewn to a King Dethron'd; and they rejected at London, the offer that was not accepted at St. John de Luz.*

The Ducheſs of MAZARIN arrived in England about the end of the year 1675. The Ducheſs of PORTSMOUTH not enjoying then a perfect health, his Majeſty ſeemed not to have for her the ſame Paſſion as before. Madame MAZARIN pleaſed him infinitely. He gave her immediately a Penſion of 4000 *l.* ſterling; and ſhe would ſoon have gain'd the aſcendant over the Ducheſs of PORTSMOUTH, if ſhe could have ſurmounted the weakneſs of her Sex, and govern'd her Inclinations. The Prince of
1676. MONACO came about this time into England. He was young, handſom, accompliſh'd in all the little arts of pleaſing the Ladies, and became a paſſionate admirer of Madam MAZARIN. M. DE ST. EVREMOND ſoon obſerv'd that ſhe was not inſenſible; and as he was privy to the myſtery of the Ducheſs's Journey hither, and even ſomewhat concern'd in it, he omitted nothing to prevent ſo fatal an Amour; and repreſented the conſequences of it to Madam MAZARIN in lively colours. But, becauſe what we take in by Reading, makes a deeper impreſſion, ſometimes, than a tranſitory Converſation, he addreſs'd to her a little *Diſcourſe on Friendſhip* [1], wherein he artfully inſinuates himſelf into her Confidence. He illuſtrates, in the firſt place, the power of Friendſhip, by the example of AGESILAUS King of the Lacedemonians, who recommending his Friend's

[1] *Vol.* II. *pag.* 202.

Friend's caſe to another, deſir'd him, by all means, to acquit him. He thinks this paſſage the more remarkable, in that he believes, that *the diſtance between a Sovereign and a Subject, does not admit that Union of Affections, which is neceſſary to beget true Friendſhip.* He obſerves, that *the ordinary intimacy between Kings and their Courtiers, is but an intimacy of Intereſt.* He takes notice of the reaſons which oblige Princes to have about them that ſort of Friends and Confidents called *Favourites*; and ſhews how tickliſh and dangerous is the ſituation of a Favourite. From hence he proceeds to more particular conſiderations on Friendſhip; and having extoll'd that Virtue, he declares how happy he was in the Confidence of his Friends. *As I have*, ſays he, *no ſhining Merit to boaſt of, I hope I may be allow'd to mention one, upon which men do ſeldom value themſelves; which is, the having gain'd the entire confidence of my Friends; and the moſt ſecret Perſon that ever I knew, was only reſerv'd with others, that he might be the more open with me. He concealed nothing from me, as long as we convers'd together; and he would, perhaps, have been glad of an opportunity to tell me every thing, when we were aſunder. The remembrance of ſuch an endearing Confidence is very ſweet to me; but the thoughts of the condition he is in, is ſtill more grievous. I have contracted a familiarity with my own Misfortunes, but never ſhall with his; and ſince I can beſtow nothing but ſorrow on his Diſgrace, no day ſhall paſs, but I ſhall grieve, and lament it* [1]. 1676.

M. DE ST. EVREMOND ſhews afterwards, that true Friendſhip ought to be free from all Diſſimulation;

[1] *I ſuppoſe M. de St. Evremond means M. Fouquet, who was then a Priſoner in the Citadel of Pignerol, where he dy'd in* 1680.

1676. mulation; and that 'tis no leſs inconſiſtent with too rigorous Juſtice, than with over-cautious Wiſdom. He does not find fault with Friends *having different Opinions*; but he would have Diſputes to be *Conferences to clear Doubts, and not exaſperating Contentions.* He thinks, however, that Friends ought not to have very claſhing Opinions in Religion; and that *a Man who ſubjects all to Reaſon, and one who depends wholly upon Authority, will hardly agree together.* M. DE ST. EVREMOND adds, that nothing could compare with a friendly Acquaintance with a *beautiful, ingenious, and judicious Woman*, if one could depend on its duration; and he is of opinion, that the only reaſon why the Fair Sex are excluded from the Management of Publick Affairs, is becauſe they are thought to be *too weak, too irreſolute, and too much ſway'd by their natural Frailty. What would not*, continues he, *have Madam* DE CHEVREUSE, *the Counteſs of* CARLISLE, *and the Princeſs* PALATINE *have brought about, had they not ſpoil'd, by their Inclinations, all they might have done by their Wit*[1]*?* He ſhews, that the errors of Affection are far more dangerous than the extravagancies of Imagination: he relates what Madam DE L'ENCLOS told him one day, *that ſhe return'd God thanks every night for her Wit; and pray'd him*

[1] *Anne of Gonzagua of Mantua, Daughter to the Duke of Nevers, and Wife to Edward Prince Palatine; and Mary de Rohan, Daughter of the Duke de Montbazon, who married to her ſecond Husband Claude of Lorrain Duke of Chevreuſe, had a great hand in the Cabals that were form'd againſt the Court of France in* 1650, 1652, *and* 1653. *The Counteſs of Carliſle, Daughter of the Duke of Northumberland, had no leſs ſhare in the Affairs of England, under Charles* I. *She animated the Parliamentarians to take thoſe meaſures which diſconcerted the Court.*

him, every morning, to preſerve her from the follies of her Heart; and having commended Madam MAZARIN's Beauty, and elevated Mind, which made her deſpiſe falſe Gallantry and the inſipid and tedious Diſcourſes of other Women; *add, Madam*, ſays he, *the merit of the Heart to that of the Soul and Mind: defend that Heart of yours againſt officious Fops; thoſe buſy fellows, who are ever ready to ſhut a Door or a Window, and to take up a Glove or a Fan. Love does not hurt the Reputation of Ladies; but the ſlender merit of their Lovers diſgraces them. You'd do me wrong, Madam*, continues he, *if you thought me an enemy to Tenderneſs: for, as old as I am, I ſhould be ſorry to be free from it. We love as long as we can draw breath. What I deſire in Friendſhip, is, that Knowledge ſhould go before Affection, and that an eſteem juſtly form'd in the Mind, ſhould animate it ſelf in the Heart, and receive there ſuch warmth as is neceſſary for Friendſhip, as well as Love. Love therefore, Madam, but love no Objects but what are worthy of you. If my wiſhes could take place, you ſhould be ambitious, and govern thoſe that govern others. Either become Miſtreſs of the world, or remain Miſtreſs of your ſelf; not in order to paſs tedious days in that ſad and melancholy indolence, which ſome would trump up for Virtue; but to have an abſolute ſway over your Affections, and over-rule your Pleaſures.* 1676.

But all theſe Inſinuations were ineffectual. Madam MAZARIN, forgetting the Rank ſhe ought to bear in the Britiſh Court, was ſo violently attach'd to the Prince of MONACO, that the King was out of all patience, and carried his Reſentment ſo far, as to take away her Penſion. M. DE ST. EVREMOND banter'd her very ingeniouſly

1676. ingeniouſly for her fickleneſs, in the following Verſes, which you could not have underſtood, without the foregoing Key :

The Empire of the Sea alone remain'd,
And that you've in your new Dominion gain'd.
The Univerſe is yours; our happy Iſles
Their fate attend, or from your frowns or ſmiles.
More pow'rful than the Romans were of old,
All Kings alike you'd in ſubjection hold,
But that you ſtrive, with greater care and pains,
Your Freedom to preſerve, than fix their Chains.

However, her friends prevail'd ſo far with the King, that he renew'd her Penſion; ſo that ſhe appear'd at Court with ſplendor. Her Houſe was the uſual Rendezvous of the politeſt Perſons in England: and in theſe Aſſemblies the people of faſhion found an agreeable amuſement, and the Learned an excellent pattern of Politeneſs. Madam MAZARIN had beſtow'd a great deal of time upon Reading, during her ſtay at Chambery, where ſhe had with her the Abbot of ST. REAL, who had the honour to converſe with her every day, and to read the beſt French and Italian Books to her. This Abbot was not inſenſible of her Charms. To inſinuate himſelf into her liking, he deſir'd her to give him an Account of her Life, and undertook to compoſe it from the particulars which ſhe gave him. Theſe *Memoirs* he accompany'd with a *Letter*, in which he gives an Encomium of the Ducheſs. When Madam MAZARIN determin'd to come over to England, ſhe thought it would be for her advantage to have this Work publiſh'd, and M. DE ST. REAL ſent it to one of his Friends at Paris, who caus'd it to be

printed. This first edition is very scarce. I had Madam MAZARIN's own Copy, with some Corrections to it of M. DE ST. REAL's own hand-writing. You once thought, Sir, that she was her self the Author of those *Memoirs*[1]: but I can assure you, that she only furnished the subject-matter of them. She did not write well enough to digest them into form. 1676.

M. DE ST. REAL accompany'd Madam MAZARIN to England; and, for some time, increased the number of Men of Learning, that came to her House. All manner of subjects were discoursed upon there, as Philosophy, Religion, History, Pieces of Wit and Gallantry, Plays, Authors antient and modern, the Niceties of the French Tongue, &c. These ingenious Conversations gave M. DE ST. EVREMOND occasion to write some Pieces; such as his *Defence of some Plays of M.* CORNEILLE[2]; his *Reflections on the French, Spanish, Italian, and English Tragedies and Comedies*, and *on Opera's*; his *Comedy of the Opera*; the *Dissertation on the word VAST*; and several others, which I shall mention hereafter.

He begins his *Reflections upon Tragedies*[3] with commending those of CORNEILLE, and even prefers some of them before all those of Antiquity. He adds, that the ancient Tragick Poets *were far more successful in expressing the Qualities and Accomplishments of their Heroes, than in representing the Magnificence of great Kings*; and more happy in the *drawing of Characters*, than in discovering the hidden impulses of the Heart, and tracing the Principles of men's Actions; which

[1] *See M. Bayle's* Reponse aux Questions d'un Provincial, *Tom.* I. *p.* 182.
[2] *Vol.* II. *pag.* 227.
[3] *Ibid. p.* 154.

1677. which CORNEILLE has done. However, he does not pretend, that *none but this excellent Author's Pieces deſerve applauſe on the French Theatre.* He owns, the Publick have been affected with the *Mariana* of TRISTAN; the *Sophonisba* of MAIRET; the *Alcyonea* of DU RYER; the *Wenceſlaus* of ROTROU; the *Stilico* of CORNEILLE, Junior; the *Andromache* and *Britannicus* of RACINE, and ſeveral others. He ſays afterwards, that *the Tragedies of the Italians* are ſo mean, that *'tis not worth while to ſpeak of them*; and obſerves, that there are ſome old Engliſh Tragedies [1], which, by the *retrenching* of a few things, *might be made perfectly good.* He diſapproves the condeſcenſion which the Engliſh Dramatic Writers have for the People, in preſenting them with bloody objects; and concludes with this Obſervation, that if, on the one hand, the French *object to the Engliſh, upon pretty good ground, that they allow too much to their ſenſes upon the Stage*; they muſt alſo, on the other hand, *bear with the reproach the Engliſh return upon the French, of running into the other extreme, when they admire Tragedies for ſome little ſoft touches which make not an impreſſion ſtrong enough upon the mind.*

In his *Obſervations upon the French Comedies* [2], M. DE ST. EVREMOND takes care to adverti ſe his Readers, in the very Title, that his Criticiſms are not levelled againſt thoſe of MOLIERE, *wherein*, ſays he, *the true ſpirit of Comedy is found.* As for the other French Comedies, he takes notice, that *altho Comedy* ought to be *the Repreſentation of common Life*; *they have made it run altogether upon Gallantry, in imitation of*

[1] *M. de St. Evremond told me he had chiefly in view the* Catilina *and the* Sejanus *of Ben. Johnſon.*

[2] *Vol.* II. *pag.* 159.

of the Spaniards. He compares the French and Spaniſh Comedies; and ſhews, that the French Poets having borrowed moſt of their Plots from the Spaniards, have *filled them with paſſionate and amorous diſcourſes*, to adapt them to the humour and manners of their Nation. This gives him occaſion to relate a witty ſtory, which he heard from the Princeſs of ISENGHIEN. *A Spaniſh Lady*, ſays he, *not long ago, was reading the Romance of* Cleopatra; *and after a tedious recital of Adventures, falling upon a nice Converſation between a Lover and his Miſtreſs, who were alike paſſionate*; what a deal of wit is here thrown away, *ſaid ſhe*; and to what end ſo many fine ſpeeches, when they are put together? *This*, continues M. DE ST. EVREMOND, *is one of the prettieſt reflections that ever I heard made in all my life*; *and* CALPRENEDE, *tho a Frenchman, ought to have remembred, that Lovers, born in a hotter climate than that of Spain, need but few words on ſuch occaſions.* He affirms, that there is more regularity and probability in the Gallantry of French Comedies, than in that of the Spaniards; which alſo proceeds from the different manners and cuſtoms of thoſe two Nations: and, in the laſt place, he obſerves, that as Comedy is mainly *calculated to pleaſe*, Poets ought not to be always crampt by too exact and rigid Rules. 1677.

M. DE ST. EVREMOND proceeds afterwards to the *Italian Comedy*[a], and having acquainted his Reader, that he will not ſpeak of the *Aminta*, *Paſtor-Fido*, and other Comedies of that nature, but only of the Comedies which are acted upon the Theatre; he adds, that *what was ſeen in France upon the Italian Stage, was not properly Comedy, ſince there was no true*

[a] *Vol. II. pag. 163.*

1677. *Plot*; *no Coherency in the ſubject*; *no Character ſtrictly obſerved*; *nor any Compoſition wherein a happy genius is, at leaſt, guided by ſome Rules of Art. In ſhort*, ſays he, *'tis nothing but a kind of ill-formed Concert among ſt ſeveral Actors, each of whom furniſhes, out of his own head, what he judges proper for the part he acts: to take it rightly, it is no more than a medley of impertinent* Concetti[1] *in the mouth of Lovers, and ſilly Buffoonries in that of their Zanies.* He grants that their Buffoons are inimitable; but is of opinion, that, at long run, they grow no leſs tireſom than all the other Italian parts, which are always forced, except that of Pantalon. M. DE ST. EVREMOND gives afterwards, in few words, the Hiſtory of the Tragedy and Comedy of the antient Romans; marks their Origin, Progreſs, and Declenſion; and, having obſerved how vaſtly the Genius of the Italians differs from that of their Anceſtors, he commends the Actors of the Italian Company then in Paris.

From the Italian, M. DE ST. EVREMOND paſſes on to the *Engliſh Comedy*[2], and obſerves, that there is none more conformable to that of the Antients, in what relates to the Manners. *It is not*, ſays he, *a mere piece of Gallantry, full of Intrigues and amorous Diſcourſes, as in Spain and France*; *it is the Repreſentation of the ordinary way of living, according to the various humours and different characters of men.* He ſays, that in the opinion of the French, *theſe Characters are ſtrained too far, as thoſe that are to be ſeen upon the French Stage, are a little too faint to the reliſh of the Engliſh*; and ſhews, that the reaſon of that is, becauſe the Engliſh dive too far into a ſub-

[1] Pointed Witticiſms.
[2] *Vol.* II. *pag.* 168.

subject, and the French, commonly, not enough. 1677.
The truth is, adds he, *I never saw Men of better Understanding than either the French, who consider things with attention; or the English, that can disingage themselves from their too deep meditations, and return to that facility of discourse, and freedom of wit, which, if possible, a man should always be master of. The finest Gentlemen in the world*, continues he, *are the French that think, and the English that speak.* After this, M. DE ST. EVREMOND proceeds to the difference that is to be found between the English and the French Comedies; and shews, that the first are as agreeable and entertaining, tho not so regular and exact, as the latter.

M. DE ST. EVREMOND composed, about this time, an *Idyll* [1], which he set himself to Musick, and was sung at Madam MAZARIN's, before a great many persons of distinction. The Conversation turned afterwards on Plays with Musical Entertainments, and particularly upon Opera's, which made then so much noise in France. M. DE ST. EVREMOND gave but an indifferent Character of those Compositions; but not having had time to speak all his thoughts about them, he wrote a Discourse upon that sub- 1678.
ject, which he inscribed to the Duke of BUCKINGHAM, who had his share in that Conversation. But before I give you a notion of that Piece, I will premise a short account of the settlement of the French Opera's.

Opera's, that is, Dramatick Pieces set to Musick, accompanied with Dances, Machines, and Decorations, came from Italy. Cardinal MAZARIN endeavoured to introduce them into

[1] *See the Works of M. de St. Evremond in French.*

1678. France; and, in 1647, he ſent for Comedians from beyond the Alps, who acted a Play in Italian verſe, call'd *Orpheo e Euridice* [1]. This ſhew was no leſs ſurprizing for its Novelty, than for the excellence of the Voices, the variety of Concerts and Decorations, the ſurprizing Scenery and Machinery, and the magnificence of the Clothes [2]. The ſucceſs that attended this Piece, occaſioned the Repreſentation of another of the ſame kind, at the King's Marriage in 1660, under the title of *Ercole Amante*, which was printed with a French Tranſlation, in favour of thoſe that did not underſtand Italian. This raiſed a ſtrong deſire to ſee French Opera's; but as they wanted good Muſicians, and fine Voices, ſo they were prepoſſeſs'd that French Words did not admit of the ſame Muſical Graces and Ornaments as the Italian. However, the Abbot PERRIN, who had been Maſter of the Ceremonies to GASTON Duke of ORLEANS, undertook to ſurmount all theſe obſtacles [3], and in order to that, compoſed a Paſtoral, which he cauſed to be ſet to Muſick by CAMBERT, Intendant of the Queen-mother's Muſick, and Organiſt of St. Honoré's Church. This Piece was ſung at Iſſy in the year 1659; and ſucceeded ſo well, that Cardinal MAZARIN cauſed it to be play'd ſeveral times before the King at Vincennes. *This was*, ſays M. DE ST. EVREMOND [4], *as it were, an Eſſay of an Opera, which pleaſed by its Novelty: but*, adds he, *what was ſtill better, was the Concerts of Flutes, which had not been heard*

[1] *See the Treatiſe* of the ancient and modern Repreſentations in Muſick *by Father Meneſtrier*, pag. 195, *&c.*

[2] *Cardinal Mazarin was at the expence of this Opera, which was prodigious.*

[3] *See Father Meneſtrier*, ubi ſupr. *pag.* 206, *&c.*

[4] *In the Comedy of the* Opera's.

heard upon any Stage, ſince the Greeks and Romans. 1678.
This Piece was ſoon follow'd by another in 1661, intitled *Ariadne*, the Verſes whereof, compoſed by the Abbot PERRIN, were but indifferent. It was rehearſed ſeveral times, but the Cardinal's Death hindred its being acted; and, for ſome years, put a ſtop to the riſe of the Opera's. In the mean time, the Abbot PERRIN left no ſtone unturn'd, to bring an undertaking to bear, which had ſo happy a beginning; and in the year 1669, obtained Letters Patent for erecting an *Academy of Opera's in the French Language*; but not being able to bear alone the trouble and exceſſive expence of ſuch a Settlement, he took in Partners, viz. CAMBERT, for the Muſick; the Marquis DE SOURDEAC, for the Machines; and one CHAMPERON, for the neceſſary Charges. As ſoon as this agreement was concluded, they ſent for the moſt celebrated Muſicians from ſome Cathedrals in Languedoc, with whom CAMBERT joined the beſt Voices he could find at Paris and elſewhere; and the Opera of *Pomona* was play'd at Paris on the Theatre of Guenegaud, in the year 1671. The Verſes were alſo of the Abbot PERRIN's compoſing, and were not better liked than thoſe of *Ariadne*. However, 'twas acted eight ſucceſſive Months, with univerſal applauſe: but, during that interval, the Marquis DE SOURDEAC, under pretence of the money he had advanced, ſeized upon the Theatre; and to make ſhift without the Abbot PERRIN, employ'd M. GILBERT, who compoſed the Opera call'd, *the Pains and Pleaſures of Love* [1], which was alſo acted on the ſaid Theatre of Guenegaud. In the mean time, JOHN-BAPTIST LULLY, a native

[1] Les Peines & les Plaiſirs de l'Amour.

1678. tive of Florence, Superintendant of the King's Muſick, taking advantage of the miſunderſtanding among the Partners of the Opera, obtain'd, by the intereſt of the Marchioneſs of MONTESPAN, that the Abbot PERRIN ſhould make over his Patent to him, for a certain ſum of money. This alteration obliged CAMBERT to go over into England, where he died in 1677, Superintendant of King CHARLES the ſecond's Muſick. LULLY took into partnerſhip the Sieur VIGARINI, the King's Machiniſt, and fixed his Theatre at the Tennis-Court of Bel-air, where, in the year 1672, he preſented the publick with *the Feſtivals of Love and Bacchus* [1]; which was a Paſtoral, made up of fragments of ſeveral Interludes, the Muſick whereof was compoſed by LULLY, to words made by M. QUINAULT. This Piece was follow'd by the Opera's of *Cadmus*, *Alceſte*, *Theſeus*, *Atys* [2], and a great many others, that need not to be mentioned here.

M. DE ST. EVREMOND begins his *Obſervations on Opera's* [3] with an ingenuous Declaration, that *he does not greatly admire* Repreſentations of that kind. *I own*, ſays he, *that their Magnificence pleaſes me well enough, that there's ſomething ſurprizing in the Machines, that the Muſick in ſome parts is very moving, and that the whole taken together appears wonderful: but it muſt be allow'd me, that theſe wonders ſoon grow tireſome; for where the Mind has ſo little employment, the Senſes muſt needs flag. After the firſt pleaſure we find in the ſurprize, the Eyes are continually looking at the Objects, till at laſt they are weary.* But what he thinks

[1] Les Feſtes de l'Amour & de Bacchus.

[2] Cadmus and Hermione *was play'd in* 1673; Alceſte, *or* The Triumph of Alcides *in* 1674; Theſeus *in* 1675; *and* Atys *in* 1676.

[3] *Vol.* II. *pag.* 172.

thinks moſt ridiculous in Opera's, is *the Singing of the whole Piece, from the beginning to the end; as if the perſons repreſented, had ridiculouſly agreed to treat in Muſick, both the moſt common and the moſt important affairs of their lives. Is it to be imagined*, adds he, *that a Maſter calls his Servant, or ſends him on an Errand, ſinging? That one Friend imparts a Secret to another, ſinging? That men debate in Council, ſinging? In ſhort, That Orders are given in Battle, ſinging; and that men are kill'd with ſwords and darts in the voice of Muſick?* Not that he pretends to baniſh all manner of Singing from the Stage: for he obſerves, that all that relates to the ſervice of the Gods, was ever ſung; and that the Paſſion of a Lover, the Irreſolution of a Soul toſs'd by different Motions, and other ſubjects of this nature, are proper enough for Muſick; but he is of opinion, that *all that belongs to Converſation and Conferences; all that relates to Intrigues and Affairs; all that concerns Counſel and Action, is proper to be rehearſed by Actors, but ridiculous to be ſung by Muſicians. The Grecians*, adds he, *made admirable Tragedies, where they had ſome ſinging; the Italians, and the French, make ſorry ones, where they ſing all.* This gives him occaſion to define an Opera, which he calls *an odd medley of Poetry and Muſick, wherein the Poet and Muſician, equally confined one by the other, take a world of pains to compoſe a wretched performance.* He ſhews afterwards, how Comedies might be contrived, where Dances and Muſick might be introduced, that would not in the leaſt hurt the Repreſentation. From theſe general Conſiderations, he proceeds to ſome Reflections on the different Genius of LULLY and CAMBERT. He compares the Italian with the French Opera's, and thinks, that as for the *man-* 1678.

1678. *ner of ſinging*, which they call in France, *Execution*[1], no Nation *can juſtly vie with the French.* He afterwards examines the different manner of ſinging of the Italians and the Spaniards; and concludes, that *none but the Frenchman ſings.* He backs his opinion by the authority of the famous LUIGI, who *could not endure that the Italians ſhould pretend to ſing his Airs, after he had heard them ſung by* NYERT, HILAIRE, little LA VARENNE; and *ſaid openly* at Rome, that *to make fine Muſick, Italian Airs muſt come out of a French Mouth.* M. DE ST. EVREMOND acknowledges, at the ſame time, "that "no people have a ſlower Comprehenſion, both "for the true ſenſe of words, and for entring "into the thought of the Poet, than the "French; and that there are but few that leſs "underſtand the Quantity, and that with greater "difficulty find out the Pronunciation: but "when, by long ſtudy, they have ſurmounted "all theſe difficulties, and are maſters of what "they ſing, nothing comes up to them." He then proceeds to the Machines, which he alſo condemns. *They may*, ſays he, *ſatisfy the Curioſity of ingenious men who love Mathematical Inventions, but they can never pleaſe perſons that have a true Taſte of the Theatre. The more they ſurprize, the more they divert the Mind from attending to the Diſcourſe; and the more wonderful they are, the leſs Tenderneſs and exquiſite Senſe they leave in us, to be touched and charmed with Muſick.* He obſerves, that the Antients, who *ſet up their Gods at their Gates, and even at their Chimney-Corners*, very rarely expoſed them on the Stage. The Italians revived in their Opera's *Deities that were extinct in*

[1] *Performance.*

in the World, and after they had left off this Cuſtom which they had *us'd with caution*, the French took it up and carry'd it *to exceſs*. *We cover the earth*, ſays he, *with Deities, and make them dance in companys, whereas the Italians were cautious of bringing them down upon the Stage, but upon the moſt important occaſions.* " I admire " LULLY, *continues he*, as well for directing " the Dances as the Voices and Inſtruments: but " the Conſtitution of our Opera's muſt appear " altogether extravagant to thoſe who are true " Judges of the Probable and the Wonderful. " Nevertheleſs, *adds he*, a Man runs a riſque of " having his judgment call'd in queſtion, if he " dares declare this good-taſte; and I adviſe o- " thers, when they hear any diſcourſe of Opera's, " to keep their knowledge a ſecret to them- " ſelves. For my part, *purſues he*, who am " paſt the age and time of ſignalizing my ſelf " by new modes or fancies, I am reſolv'd to " ſtrike in with Good-ſenſe, as much abandon'd " as it is, and to follow Reaſon, tho in diſgrace, " with the ſame zeal, as if it were ſtill in as " much vogue as formerly." 1678.

M. DE ST. EVREMOND thought it ſo comical, to ſee every thing, even the moſt familiar Diſcourſes, and the moſt trivial Affairs, ſung in Opera's, that he diverted himſelf with the Writing a Comedy, called *The Opera's* [1], wherein he introduces a young Woman, who by the reading and ſinging of Opera's, is arrived at that paſs, that ſhe never ſpeaks to any body, but in Metre, and Tune. In a Scene of this Piece, he brings in a ſhort Criticiſm on the Opera's that were then extant; ſuch as the *Paſtoral of Iſſy*, *Pomona*, *The Pains and Peaſures of Love*,

[1] *See the* Works *of M. de St. Evremond in French.*

1678. *Love*, *Ariadne*, *Cadmus*, *Alceſte*, *Theſeus*, and *Atys*. 'Tis an imitation of CERVANTES, who has a fine judicious Criticiſm in his *Don Quixot*, on the moſt famous Romances of his day. M. DE ST. EVREMOND at the ſame time, commends CAMBERT, LULLY and QUINAULT.

I ſhall add in this place, that ſome Italian Muſicians coming into England not many years after, ſome perſons wou'd engage him to recant what he had ſaid in his Reflections on Opera's, in favour of the French Singing: whereupon he wrote a ſmall Piece, entitled, an *Elucidation*[1]; which is ironical, and confirms what he had before advanced.

I ſhall now acquaint you how he came to write his *Diſſertation on the word* VAST[2]. Madam MAZARIN having, amongſt other Praiſes, ſaid of Cardinal DE RICHELIEU, that *he had a vaſt Mind*, or *Genius*[3]; M. DE ST. EVREMOND maintain'd, that that Expreſſion was not juſt; that a *Vaſt Genius* was taken either in a good or bad ſenſe, according to what accompany'd it; that *a vaſt, wonderful, and penetrating Genius*, denoted an admirable Capacity; and that, on the contrary, *a vaſt and immoderate Genius*, was a Genius that loſt it ſelf in rambling Thoughts, in fine, but airy Ideas; in Deſigns too great, and not at all proportion'd to the means that may render them ſucceſsful. After a long diſpute, they agreed to refer the matter to the Gentlemen of the FRENCH ACADEMY. The Abbot DE S. REAL, then at Paris, having

[1] *Vol.* II. *pag.* 358.
[2] *Ibid. pag.* 182.
[3] *The French expreſſion is,* l' Eſprit vaſte, *which in Engliſh implies, a* vaſt Genius, *a* vaſt Mind, *a* vaſt Soul, *a* vaſt Spirit, *&c.*

ing been desired to consult them, they gave their judgment in favour of Madam MAZARIN. M. DE ST. EVREMOND had retracted, and confess'd his error before their Decision was known: but when he saw it, he wrote a Dissertation, where he declares, that *his recantation was not sincere, but a meer effect of Complaisance, and a voluntary submission of his thoughts to those of Madam* MAZARIN. He adds, that *the right which the Gentlemen of the Academy pretend to, of regulating the French Language as they please, is disputable. Authors have no Authority,* says he, *to abolish old Words because they don't like them, and to introduce new ones after their fancy: all that can be done for them, is to render them masters of Use, when that Use is not contrary to Judgment and Reason. There are some Authors who have made Languages perfect, and others that have spoil'd them, and we must have recourse to good Sense to decide the matter.* He gives instances of this, and returning to the French Academy, *I own,* continues he, *the Jurisdiction of the Academy. Let it decide whether* VAST *is a Word in use, or if it be not, I will submit to their judgment: but to know the force and propriety of the Term; to know whether 'tis a Word of blame, or of praise, they must give me leave to be judg'd by my own Reason.* Then he enters into the Subject, and quitting the *Opinion* he had at first maintain'd, and which *he thought,* says he, *pretty modest,* he *denys* that the Word *Vast* can *ever be a Commendation, and that any thing is capable of rectifying that quality.* He maintains that Great is a Perfection in the Mind, *Vast* always a Vice; that a just and regulated extent makes what is Great; and an immoderate greatness what is *Vast.* All this he proves by examples drawn out of the best Latin Writers; after which, he examines the 1678.

Vast

1678. *Vaſt Genius* which is aſcrib'd to HOMER and ARISTOTLE; and the *Vaſt Soul* which is attributed to PYRRHUS, CATILINE, CHARLES V. and Cardinal DE RICHELIEU; and then ſhews, by an exact Diſcuſſion, that the *fine Works* of thoſe celebrated Authors, and the *ſhining Atchievements* of thoſe great Captains, *ought to be aſſign'd to other qualities of their Minds; and their Errors and chimerical deſigns, imputed to that of* Vaſt. Thus a dry barren ſubject, which ſeem'd to promiſe nothing but meer Grammatical Diſcuſſions, chang'd its nature in the hands of M. DE ST. EVREMOND, and became an excellent Piece of Hiſtory, Criticiſm, and Literature.

The Duke of NEVERS uſed frequently to ſend to the Dutcheſs of MAZARIN, his Siſter, ſome copies of Verſes of his own making; having a Genius for Poetry, tho he gave too great a looſe to his raptures, and did not ſufficiently correct his compoſitions. Nevertheleſs, there was ſomething new in his thoughts, and in the turn he gave them. Madam MAZARIN having communicated to M. DE ST. EVREMOND an *Epiſtle*, which the Duke of NEVERS had addreſs'd to the Abbot BOURDELOT[1], deſiring him to give her his judgment upon it; M. DE ST. EVREMOND return'd her an Anſwer[2], That *there were in that little Piece, ſome Verſes of as high and noble ſtrain, as he had ſeen a long while before in French. I value them the more*, adds he, *becauſe there's Novelty and good Senſe; which are not eaſily blended. For our Novelties have often a caſt of extravagance, and the good Senſe which is found in our Writings, is generally borrow'd*

[1] *See the* Works of M. de St. Evremond *in French.*
[2] *Vol.* II. *pag.* 254.

borrow'd from Antiquity, rather than of our own growth. I wou'd have the Moderns inſpired by the Wit of the Antients, but would not have them ſteal it, and paſs it for their own. I allow the Antients to teach us how to think well, but hate to make uſe of their thoughts. What remains of their Works had the advantage of Novelty, when they wrote it; whereas, what we borrow from them now, is grown obſolete from age to age; and is dropt, as it were, dead and extinguiſh'd into the brain of our Authors. What have we to do with a new Author, who puts forth nothing but old Productions; who ſets himſelf out with the fancies of the Greeks, and impoſes on the world their knowledge for his own? A vaſt number of Rules, made three thouſand years ago are ſet up to be the ſtandard of what's writing now-a-days; without conſidering, that neither the ſubjects to be treated, nor the Genius to be conducted, are the ſame. If we ſhould make Love like ANACREON *and* SAPPHO, *nothing would be more ridiculous; if like* TERENCE, *nothing more Plebeian; and if like* LUCIAN, *nothing more groſs and lewd. All Ages have a Character peculiar to themſelves: they have their own Politicks, their Intereſts, their Affairs; and their Morals, in ſome meaſure, having their particular Virtues and Vices. I own 'tis all Humanity ſtill; but Nature is various in Men: and Art, which is nothing but an imitation of Nature, ought to vary as that does. Our Impertinencies are not the ſame which* HORACE *ridicul'd; nor are our Vices the ſame which* JUVENAL *laſh'd: we muſt therefore, make uſe of other raillery and reproofs.* 1678.

After the Peace of Nimeguen, M. DE ST. EVREMOND wrote an *Epiſtle* in Verſe to the King[1], wherein he indirectly ask'd leave to return 1679.

to

[1] *See the* Works of M. de St. Evremond *in French.*

1679. to his native Country; but it came to nothing. Count D' OLONNE having beſtow'd great praiſes on that Piece; *I know not*, ſays M. DE ST. EVREMOND in his Anſwer to him[1], *why you ſhould admire my Verſes, ſince I don't admire 'em my ſelf; for I muſt inform you, that in the opinion of a celebrated Maſter in the Art of Poetry*[2], *a Poet is always the moſt affected with his own Compoſures. For my part, I acknowledge abundance of faults in mine, which I might correct, if exactneſs were not extremely troubleſome to my humour, and did not take up more time than any perſon of my age can ſpare. Beſides, I have another excuſe, which, if I am not miſtaken, you will admit of. Eſſays are ſeldom Maſter-pieces; and the Praiſes I beſtow upon the King, being the firſt true and ſincere Commendations I ever gave, it can be no wonder I had no better ſucceſs. As for thoſe you beſtow upon me, they are an ingenious Irony, of which rhetorical figure, I was formerly ſo great a Maſter, that the Mareſchal* DE CLEREMBAUT *thought no body but my ſelf capable to vie with you in it. You ought not to have employ'd it againſt a man, who has loſt the uſe of it, and who is ſo much your humble Servant as I am.*

1680. He afterwards compos'd a little Piece[3], wherein he enquires into the reaſon why the greateſt Men of Antiquity, ſuch as ALCIBIADES, AGESILAUS, SCIPIO, and JULIUS CESAR, were ſo little addicted to the Love of the Fair Sex; whilſt that wiſe and learned King, SOLOMON, was inſenſible to all other Charms. He endeavours to juſtify that Prince's conduct; and ſupports his arguments by the examples of SYPHAX,

[1] *Vol.* II. *pag.* 258.
[2] *Ariſtotle.*
[3] *Vol.* II. *pag.* 261.

SYPHAX, AUGUSTUS, M. DE SENECTERRE, and the Mareſchal D'ESTRE'ES. *However*, adds he, *notwithſtanding theſe Authorities, I ſhould highly value a Man who ſhould have ſuch ſtrength of Judgment, as to preſerve the reliſh of Liberty to the end of his Life. Not that an abſolute Independence is always commendable: for it generally produces Indifference and Ingratitude. Let us equally avoid the two extremes of abſolute Subjection and entire Freedom; and content our ſelves with an eaſy and honourable intercourſe, as agreeable to our Friends as to our ſelves. If any thing more is required of me than a hearty Concern for the Intereſts of thoſe I love; any thing more than my ſmall Aſſiſtance, as weak as it is, when they are in diſtreſs; or more than Diſcretion in Converſation, and Secrecy in Confidence; let them ſeek for a Friend elſewhere, for I can afford them no more.* He ſhews, afterwards, what diſorders are ſometimes produc'd by what is called *Friendſhip*; and makes it appear that there are different ſorts of *Friends*, equally dangerous and troubleſom. He gives the true Character of Friendſhip; and obſerves how much that Virtue has been recommended by the Philoſophers and good Men of all ages. In the laſt place, he takes notice of the Inconveniences that ariſe from too great a number of Friends; both in relation to our ſelves, and to thoſe we profeſs to love. Madam MAZARIN caus'd this Piece to be printed at London in 1681, and maliciouſly intitled it, *Friendſhip without Friendſhip: dedicated to the Earl of St. Albans.* 1680.

M. DE ST. EVREMOND uſed to paſs the Summer ſeaſon with the Court at Windſor; where he often convers'd with Dr. VOSSIUS, whom the King made one of the Prebendaries of Windſor in 1673. Madam MAZARIN was

1680. was also very much pleased with the Conversation of that Learned Man; who often eat at her Table, and of whom she used to ask Questions on all manner of Subjects. I shall take this opportunity to give you a sketch of ISAAC VOSSIUS's Character. He understood most European Languages, and spoke none of them well. He had a profound knowledge of the Genius and Customs of antient Nations; but was entirely ignorant of the Manners of his Cotemporaries. He was unpolite, even in his ordinary way of speaking; expressing himself in Conversation, as he might have done in a Comment upon JUVENAL and PETRONIUS. At the very time he was writing Books to prove that the Version of the Septuagint was of Divine Inspiration, his private Discourses intimated that he believed no Revelation at all. The unedifying manner in which he died [1], leaves no room to doubt his Opinions [2]. And yet, which is a plain

[1] *Isaac Vossius died the 10th of February, 1689.*

[2] *Dr. Haskard, Dean of Windsor, going to visit him with Dr. Wickart one of the Prebendaries, cou'd not prevail on him to receive the Sacrament, tho he prest'd him to that degree as to tell him, that* if he would not do it for the Love of God, he hop'd he wou'd do it however for the Honour of the Chapter. *What follows will give you a farther notion of Vossius's humour and sentiments. A Gentleman asking him one day what was become of a certain Man of Letters that he had formerly seen at his House? Vossius answer'd him bluntly,* est sacrificulus in pago, & rusticos decipit, i. e. *he is a Parson in a Village, and makes Fools of the Country-People. I will add, that a Gentleman well known in the Republick of Letters, informed me that he had in his custody a Latin Letter, written by a person that was present with Vossius when he dy'd, in which he says, that Doctor Haskard went to visit him when he was on his Death-bed, and exhorted him to receive the Sacrament, but that he said to him,* I rather wish you would tell me how I shall oblige my Far-

plain proof of the weakneſs of human Under- 1680.
ſtanding, *he had a fooliſh Credulity for any thing that was extraordinary, fabulous, and paſt belief.* Theſe are the very words of M. DE ST. EVREMOND [1], who had long enough convers'd with VOSSIUS, to know him thorowly.

M. JUSTÉL retir'd with his Family into 1681.
England, towards the end of the year 1681, in order to enjoy the Liberty of his Conſcience; and was, ſome time after, made the King's Library-Keeper. Nevertheleſs, he regretted the ſweets of life he had left behind him in France, and often lamented himſelf upon that ſubject; which gave M. DE ST. EVREMOND occaſion to write a Letter to him [2], wherein he defends the Romiſh Church like a Gentleman, with a great deal of wit and politeneſs; and without engaging himſelf in the ſubterfuges and litigious ſubtleties of the Divines.

mers to pay me their Rents. *The Letter adds, that this was his common way of talking, and that Francis du Jon (who dy'd in 1677, eighty eight years of age, at the Houſe of Voſſius, to whom he was Uncle by the Mother's ſide) falling ſick, a Prebendary offer'd to give him the Sacrament, but Voſſius oppos'd it, ſaying,* 'Tis indeed a fine Cuſtom eſtabliſh'd for Sinners; but my Uncle is no Sinner: he is a Man without Vice. *Theſe are the very Words of that Letter:*

"Cum Decanus Windeſorienſis illum in confinio mor-
"tis inviſitaret, cumque urbanè inviſaret ad S. Cœnam, dixit
"Voſſius: *Doceto quomodo poſſim colonos meos compellere ad*
"*ſolvendas ſuas penſiones: hoc facito.* Quæ verba ne fini-
"ſtrè interpreteris, ſcias hoc quotidiani ſermonis genus ei
"nativum fuiſſe. Simile reſponſum dedit Canonico Win-
"deſorienſi Franciſco Junio S. Cœnam offerre cupienti:
"*Hoc ſpecioſum inſtitutum pro peccatoribus: avunculus meus*
"*nihil minus eſt quam peccator. Vitiis caret.*"

[1] *In his* Diſcourſe to the Mareſchal de Crequi, *Vol.* II. *pag.* 68.

[2] *Vol.* I. *pag.* 271.

1682. At that time, the Sieur MORIN, a man of obſcure birth, and who had no other merit than his being a great Gameſter, brought over Baſſet into England, and generally kept a Bank at the Dutcheſs of MAZARIN's, who loved that Game paſſionately. M. DE ST. EVREMOND wrote thereupon ſeveral Pieces in Verſe, wherein he complains, that the Reading of good Books, and agreeable Converſation was baniſh'd, to make room for Baſſet.

1683. There happen'd in the year 1683 an accident, with which the Dutcheſs of MAZARIN was extremely affected. Baron BANIER, a Swediſh Gentleman[1], fell paſſionately in love with that Lady, who was not cruel to him. Prince PHILIP of SAVOY, her Nephew, fought a Duel with him, and gave him a wound of which he died. Madam MAZARIN was diſconſolate for the loſs of her Lover, and in pain for her Nephew, leſt he ſhould be try'd and condemn'd, and loſe all his Benefices in France. She caus'd her Apartment to be hung with black; and hardly admitted the Viſits of her beſt friends. In ſhort, ſhe expreſs'd ſuch a deep ſorrow, that M. DE ST. EVREMOND did not doubt but ſhe would go to Spain, and retire into the ſame Convent with the Conſtable COLONNA's Lady, her Siſter. This appear'd the more likely, becauſe the Duke of MAZARIN had ſent over into England Madam DU RUZ, a Lady of Quality in Provence, formerly a Retainer to his Dutcheſs[2], who uſed all her endeavours to feed her grief, and engage her to quit England. Thereupon M. DE ST. EVREMOND,

[1] *Son of the General Banier.*

[2] *See the* Memoirs of Madam Mazarin, *in the* IIId *Vol. pag.* 117, 118.

MOND, who could not bear the thoughts of her absence, wrote three or four Letters to her, to comfort and divert her from a design so inconsistent with her happiness. He made a lively representation to her of all the Inconveniences of Convents; and told her, that in the disposition her mind was in at present, it would be impossible for her to bear with them. "Indeed, *says he* [1], if you were mov'd by the "special Grace of God to devote your self entirely to his service, the hardship of your condition might be excus'd by the ardour of your "zeal, which would make every thing supportable to you: but I don't find you convinc'd in your conscience; and you must even "learn to believe in him whom you are going "to serve so austerely. You will not only "meet with all the Hardships that Nuns undergo, but will miss the Spouse that comforts "them. To you every sort of Spouse is odious, not only abroad in the World, but even "in a Monastery. The being one day in doubt "about the Happiness of another Life, is sufficient to cast the devoutest Maid in a Nunnery "into despair: for, Faith alone strengthens and "supports her, and enables her to bear the "Mortifications she undergoes. Who knows, "Madam, whether you will believe but one "quarter of an hour, what she must ever believe to avoid being unhappy? Who knows "whether the Idea of a promis'd Felicity, will "ever be powerful enough to bear you up "against the sense of present Evils? Nothing "is more reasonable, to such as are sincerely "convinced, than to live under that Austerity "which they believe necessary for their arrival 1683.

[1] *Vol.* II. *pag.* 286, 287.

1683. " at the fruition of eternal bliſs; and nothing is
" more juſt in them who are not convinced,
" than to indulge their eaſe here below, and to
" taſte with moderation every pleaſure for
" which they have any reliſh. For this reaſon,
" thoſe among the Philoſophers who believed
" the Immortality of the Soul, made no ac-
" count of the delights of this World; and ſuch
" of them as after this Life expected no other,
" have placed the ſovereign Good in Pleaſure.
" You, Madam, profeſs a Philoſophy entirely
" new: in oppoſition to EPICURUS, you pur-
" ſue Pain, Mortification, and Anguiſh; and
" in oppoſition to SOCRATES, you expect no
" reward from Virtue. Without much Reli-
" gion, you are going to profeſs a Religious
" Life: you deſpiſe this World, and don't ſet
" much value upon the other. Unleſs you have
" found out a third World, created purpoſely
" for you, there is no way left to juſtify your
" Conduct. We ought, Madam, to be con-
" vinced before we lay a reſtraint upon our
" ſelves: we ought not to ſuffer, unleſs we
" know for whom. In a word, we muſt ſtudy
" ſeriouſly to know God, before we renounce
" our ſelves. In the midſt of this Univerſe, the
" contemplation of the Wonders of Nature will
" lead you to his Knowledge, on whom it de-
" pends. The ſight of the Sun will convince
" you of the greatneſs and magnificence of him
" that form'd it: that wonderful and juſt Or-
" der which cements and preſerves all things,
" will bring you acquainted with his Wiſdom.
" In ſhort, Madam, in this World which you
" deſign to quit, God lies all open, and ready
" explain'd to our thoughts: he lies ſo cloſe
" in Monaſteries, that he rather conceals than
" manifeſts himſelf; and is ſo diſguis'd by the
" mean

" mean and unworthy forms under which he is " repreſented, that the moſt enlighten'd, have " much ado to know him," *&c.* 1683.

M. DE ST. EVREMOND repreſents the Dutcheſs here as a Wit; and you know, Sir, that in her *Memoirs* we are aſſured, that Cardinal MAZARIN had early perceived her inclination to Irreligion. *One of the things*, ſays the Dutcheſs, *for which he was moſt diſſatisfied with us* [1], *was our Devotion. You cannot imagine how much he was concern'd at our having ſo little on't: nor did he omit any Argument he thought proper to inſpire us with it. Among the reſt, complaining once to us, becauſe we did not hear Maſs every day, he told us, we had neither Piety, nor Honour:* " at " leaſt, *ſaid he*, if you don't hear it for GOD's " ſake, hear it for the World's [2]." The Dutcheſs of MAZARIN was then very young; there's no doubt to be made, but her Irreligion increas'd by her Huſband's extreme Bigotry and fantaſtical Superſtition; and afterwards gather'd ſtrength in her Travels, by her converſation with Men of great Wit and Learning, but who entertained very free thoughts about Religion. Therefore M. DE ST. EVREMOND might well tell her, that ſhe had need of more Knowledge and Grace, before ſhe ſhould think of turning Nun. But ſhe did not put her deſign in execution: her Nephew was clear'd; and time having moderated her ſorrow, ſhe had no farther thoughts of leaving Great Britain.

About that time M. DE ST. EVREMOND made ſome *Obſervations upon the Taſte and Judg-*

[1] *Meaning, the Dutcheſs of Mazarin her ſelf; her Siſter, who afterwards married the Conſtable Colonna; and her Brother, the Duke of Nevers.*

[2] *See* Madam Mazarin's Memoirs, *pag.* 14.

1683. *ment of the French*[1]. He obſerves in the firſt place, that *tho the Genius of the French, ſeems generally to be mean, 'tis certain that thoſe who diſtinguiſh themſelves among them are capable of the moſt beautiful Productions: but,* he adds, *when they know how to perform, we know not how to admire them; and if we have done juſtice to ſome excellent Work, our levity does not ſuffer it long to enjoy the reputation we have given it.* He wonders, that in ſo polite a Court as that of France, good and ill Taſte, true and falſe Wit, ſhou'd like Cloathes be in faſhion by turns. He gives ſome inſtances of this variety, as well with regard to Men as to Pieces of Wit. "Not "but, *ſays he,* there are in France men of very "ſolid ſenſe, who are never diſguſted with what "ought to pleaſe, and never pleas'd with what "ought to give diſguſt: but the ignorant or "prejudic'd multitude generally drowns the "ſmall number of true Judges." *There is no Country,* purſues he, *where Reaſon is ſtarcer than in France, but when 'tis found there, none purer in the univerſe. Commonly all is Fancy; but a Fancy ſo fine, and a Caprice ſo noble as to what regards the outſide, that Foreigners aſham'd of their good Senſe as a groſs quality, ſeek to make themſelves eſteemed at home by the imitation of our Modes, and forego eſſential qualities, to affect an Air and Behaviour, which 'tis ſcarce poſſible for them to attain.* After having ſhewn the Advantages which France reaps from this Prepoſſeſſion, *happy therefore,* ſays he, *that noble and gay Caprice, which makes it ſelf be received by our greateſt enemies: however it ought not to uſurp upon Arts, nor pretend imperiouſly to decide upon the Productions of the Mind without conſulting either good Taſte*

[1] *Vol.* II. *pag.* 303.

Taſte or Reaſon. He ſhews afterwards that there's a Vice oppoſite to this Levity, which is altogether as unreaſonable; that is, the *paſſionate affection for what was done in the former, and our diſlike for every thing that's done in our own time.* He concludes, with ſhewing the diſpoſition of mind, which a man muſt be in, to *make a true judgment of Men and their Writings.* 1683.

The Dutcheſs of MAZARIN having recover'd her health after a great fit of ſickneſs in 1684, ſaid one day, ſmiling, ſhe ſhould be glad to know, what people would ſay of her, after her Death? This was ſufficient to engage M. DE ST. EVREMOND to write her Panegyrick, under the title of *a Funeral Oration*[1]; wherein he takes notice of her Birth; of the Illuſtrious perſons that demanded her in Marriage; of the motives that induc'd the Cardinal to beſtow her on the Duke of LA MEILLERAYE, and what Judgment was paſs'd upon it; of that Duke's fooliſh and ridiculous Devotion; of the ill uſage Madam MAZARIN receiv'd at his hands, which, at laſt, forc'd her to part from him; of the ſeveral Journeys ſhe was oblig'd to take; of her abode at Chambery; of her coming into England, of the Applauſe ſhe was receiv'd with, and of her agreeable way of living here. *Madam* MAZARIN, ſays he, *no ſooner arrives to any place, but ſhe eſtabliſhes a Houſe there, which cauſes all the others to be abandon'd. The greateſt Freedom in the world is to be ſeen there, and an equal Diſcretion: every one is more commodiouſly uſed there than at home, and more reſpectfully than at Court. 'Tis true, there are frequent diſputes there, but then it is with more knowledge than heat: it is not done out of a ſpirit of contradiction, but fully to diſ-* 1684.

[1] *Vol.* II. *pag.* 310.

1685. " warm and hearty, after five and twenty years
" abſence, as it could have been if I had the
" honour to be with your Lordſhip every day.

" As for the advice you gave me to praiſe
" his Majeſty, you will give me leave not to
" follow it. Your Affection for me, makes you
" fancy, that I could give an agreeable turn to
" his praiſes: but I know how dangerous it is
" to commend a Prince, who has more taſte
" and diſcernment, than thoſe who commend
" him have either wit or genius. Moſt praiſes
" are groſs, and therefore nauſeous; affected,
" and ſo diſagreeable; far-fetch'd, and conſe-
" quently ill-ſuited with the ſubject: I muſt
" have fallen into one or other of thoſe incon-
" veniences; and I chuſe rather not to praiſe at
" all, than not praiſe well. 'Tis a great pre-
" ſumption for a man to think, he can ſet off
" things, that ſufficiently ſet off themſelves:
" they need but be named, to make an impreſ-
" ſion on men's minds. When ever they are
" mention'd, I am the firſt that's affected with
" them: but I do not venture to launch out into
" praiſes, that perhaps might wrong them; and
" I think I do more in their behalf, by carefully
" avoiding to daub them, than others by curi-
" ouſly endeavouring to embelliſh them."

M. DE ST. EVREMOND wrote about this time, his Reflections *on the Poems of the Antients*, and on *the Wonderful* that is found in them. He ſhews in that firſt Piece[1], that how admirable ſoever HOMER's Poems are, yet it would be ridiculous for a man to write after that Model in our Age, wherein every thing is chang'd, as Religion, Politicks, Morals, Taſte, Manners and

[1] Vol. II. *pag.* 344.

and Cuſtoms. In the other Piece[1] he obſerves, 1685.
that the *Wonderful* in the Poems of the Antients, abſtractedly conſider'd in it ſelf, is little leſs ſtrange and odd, than that of Knight-errantry: he ſhews that the Poets have committed the moſt infamous Actions to the management of their Gods and Goddeſſes; and this gives him occaſion to examine two common Sayings, that ſeem to contradict one another: the one, *that Poetry is the Language of the Gods*; the other, *that there is no greater fool in nature than a Poet.*

M. BERNIER came about this time into England. He often converſed with M. DE ST. EVREMOND; and the eſteem they had both for GASSENDI, the Reſtorer of the Philoſophy of EPICURUS, generally led their Diſcourſe to the Doctrine of that antient Philoſopher. This gave M. DE ST. EVREMOND occaſion to write a little Piece[2], wherein after having acknowledg'd, that of all the opinions of the Philoſophers concerning the ſovereign Good, none appears to him ſo rational as that of EPICURUS, who makes it to conſiſt in Voluptuouſneſs, or Pleaſure; he adds, that it is, however, no eaſy matter to determine, what he meant by the word *Voluptuouſneſs*; ſuch is the variety of Opinions among the Antients, about the Morals of that Philoſopher. He afterwards relates the judgments that have been paſs'd upon him, both by his enemies and advocates; and without giving abſolute credit to either, examines himſelf what can be moſt rationally aſſerted upon that ſubject. He does not believe that EPICURUS deſign'd to introduce an auſtere and inſenſible Voluptuouſneſs, conſiſting in the mortification of the

[1] *Vol.* II. *pag.* 358.
[2] *Ibid. pag.* 363.

1685. the ſenſes: for he thinks that ſuch a Voluptuouſneſs is *more rigid than the Virtue of the Stoicks*; and he cannot apprehend, that a Philoſopher, *who did not believe the Immortality of the Soul*, and *knew no other felicity than that of this World*, would be willing to *mortify his Senſes*, and *chuſe to diet upon Bread and Water, in order to attain the ſupreme happineſs of Life. I wonder*, adds he, *they don't fix the Voluptuouſneſs of ſuch an* EPICURUS *in Death*; *for to conſider the miſery of his Life, one would be apt to think that his ſupreme Good muſt be Death.* M. DE ST. EVREMOND is of opinion, that EPICURUS *was a very wiſe Philoſopher, who, according to different times and occaſions, loved Voluptuouſneſs in Repoſe*; *or Voluptuouſneſs in Motion: and that this difference of Voluptuouſneſs, has occaſion'd the various reputation, that Philoſopher has undergone.* He afterwards takes notice of the great changes which Age and Reflection produce both in our opinions and humours; and concludes, *'tis no wonder that in ſo great a variety of views, and paſſions,* EPICURUS *who has written more than any other Philoſopher, hath variouſly treated the ſame ſubject, according as he has differently view'd it, or been affected with it.* He is therefore of opinion that we ought to conſider him differently, when in health and the vigour of youth, from what he was in ſickneſs and old age. In the firſt ſtate, he enjoyed with œconomy the moſt lively and moſt rapturous pleaſures; and when he became infirm and languid, he had no reliſh but for the indolence and tranquillity of mind, in which the happineſs of old age conſiſts.

M. DE ST. EVREMOND addreſs'd this Piece to Monſieur BERNIER. Some time after, Madam DE L'ENCLOS having deſired to know of him, whether he was the Author of the *Reflections*

flections on the Doctrine of Epicurus, that were printed at Paris with his Name, he assur'd her they were not his. *You wou'd know*, says he, *whether I wrote those* Reflections upon the Doctrine of Epicurus, *which are father'd upon me. I might honour my self with them: but as I don't love to give my self a merit which I have no right to, I will tell you ingenuously that they are not mine. I have a great disadvantage in those little Tracts that are printed with my Name. Some of them are well writ, which I don't own, because they don't belong to me; and among those which I have writ, they have inserted a great many impertinent things, which I don't take the trouble to disown. At my Age, one hour of Life well improv'd, is of more moment to me, than the concern of an indifferent Reputation. How hard it is for a man to divest himself of Self-love! I quit it as an Author, I resume it as a Philosopher, finding a secret pleasure in neglecting what others so earnestly pursue.* 1685.

Those *Reflections upon the Doctrine of* EPICURUS, *which you thought to be* M. DE ST. EVREMOND'S[1], are M. SARASIN'S: you will find them in his *New Works* printed at Paris in 1674[2]. M. DE ST. EVREMOND sent his *Discourse upon Epicurus's Morals* to Madam DE L'ENCLOS; and Monsieur BERNIER being lately dead, he address'd it to that Lady, under the Name of the *Modern Leontium*. She desir'd to know of him likewise, what disposition his mind was in at that time; whereupon he sent her the following Sonnet:

The

[1] *See the* Historical and Critical Dictionary *in the Article of* Epicurus *Rem.* (L)

[2] *These* Reflections *are inserted among the best Pieces ascribed to M. de St. Evremond, Vol.* III. *pag.* 279.

1685. *The ſweeteſt moments I enjoy,*
Are when good Books my thoughts employ:
When I apply my ſelf to write,
'Tis not my Buſineſs, but Delight.

My taſte of Satyr is no more,
And I malicious praiſe give o'er:
But when with truth I can commend,
'Tis pleaſant then to pleaſe a Friend.

Far from France my life I lead,
Far from plenty, far from need;
With my vulgar fate content,
And the little Heav'n has lent.

Virtue, if not ſow'r, I chooſe;
Pleaſure, if not wild and looſe;
Life I love, but do not fly
At Death's approach, not fear to die.

1686. In the year 1686. the Earl of SUNDERLAND, propos'd to King JAMES to create for M. DE ST. EVREMOND a Place of *Secretary of the Cabinet*, whoſe province ſhould be to write the King's private Letters to the foreign Princes. The King approv'd my Lord SUNDERLAND'S motion: but M. DE ST. EVREMOND thought it did not become him to accept ſuch an Office. However, he told that prime Miniſter, that he was very much oblig'd to him for his kindneſs; and deſired him withal, to return the King his humble Thanks for the honour he intended him: adding, he ſhould account himſelf very happy to be able to ſerve his Majeſty; but that a man of his age ought to think

of nothing, but how to husband the little time he had to live, and to ſpend it in eaſe and tranquillity. 1686.

The Diſcourſe he compos'd at that time, *On Retirement*[1], contains ſeveral Reflections on the ordinary defects of Old Men, and on the reaſons that ought to induce them to leave the World. He obſerves, that of all Retirements, none were preferable to a Monaſtery, if *there were allow'd the neceſſary conveniences for the body, and a reaſonable ſatisfaction for the mind.* He wiſhes there were eſtabliſh'd Societies, whither Gentlemen might retreat, after they have done the Publick all the ſervice they are able: and where they might reliſh both the joy of a pious Solitude, and the innocent pleaſure of a polite and agreeable Converſation. He tells us, that at M. FOUQUET's Priſon, the Marſhal DE CLEREMBAUT *had his head full of ſuch notions of Retirement*; adding, that as for himſelf, "altho "he be perſuaded, that there are times, where-"in 'tis the higheſt pitch of wiſdom for a man "to retreat; nevertheleſs he truſts much more "to Nature than to Reaſon for his Retirement." *'Tis by her Impulſe*, continues he, *that in the midſt of the World I now retire from the World it ſelf. I am ſtill in it, as to what pleaſes me; but am out of it, as to what incommodes me. I daily ſteal away from troubleſome acquaintances, and tireſome converſations: I daily ſeek a ſweet Intercourſe with my Friends, and place my greateſt delight in the delicacy of their Converſation. After the rate I live, 'tis neither a full Society, nor yet a perfect Retirement. 'Tis only an innocent confining of my ſelf to thoſe delights which beſt agree with my inclinations. Diſguſted with Vice as too groſs, and offended*

[1] *Vol.* II. *pag.* 376.

1686. *fended with the practice of Virtue as too severe, I possess all those harmless pleasures that are most suitable to the Repose of my Old Age, and affect me only in proportion to the degree of the pleasurable sensibility I am still capable of.*

1687. The Dutchess of BOUILLON being come over into England in the year 1687, to give a visit to the Dutchess of MAZARIN, her Sister, the celebrated M. DE LA FONTAINE wrote her a very gallant witty Letter; which, at her desire, M. DE ST. EVREMOND answered for her: and this was acknowledged by a Letter of thanks from M. DE LA FONTAINE[1]. That illustrious Author had gained so great a Reputation in England, that my Lady HARVEY[2], the Duke of DEVONSHIRE, the Lord MONTAGUE, and the Lord GODOLPHIN, having, some years after, been informed, that his circumstances were but indifferent at Paris; they resolved to invite him to London[3], and engaged to secure him an honourable Subsistence: and 'tis very likely he would have come over, had he not been hinder'd by the infirmities of old age.

The

[1] *Vol.* II. *pag.* 379, *&c.*

[2] *Elizabeth Montague, Widow of Sir Daniel Harvey, Ambassador from King Charles* II. *to Constantinople, where he died. This Lady had a vast deal of Wit, and a Genius for the most refined Politicks. She had a great hand in several Alterations in the Ministry under Charles* II. *and contributed more than any body, towards the bringing over the Dutchess of Mazarin to England, with whom she afterwards contracted a very great Intimacy. As she went to Paris in* 1683, *M. de la Fontaine frequently had the honour to see her at the house of her Brother my Lord Montague, the English Ambassador; and she was pleased to give him the subject for the Fable of the* English Fox. *This Fable M. de la Fontaine inscribed to the Lady Harvey. She died in* 1702.

[3] *See the Letter from Madam de l'Enclos, Vol.* II. *pag.* 423.

The next year, M. DE ST. EVREMOND wrote a *Letter* to Dr. LE FEVRE, a famous London Phyſician, wherein he gave his *Judgment on the ſeveral Accounts of Siam* by the Chevalier DE CHAUMONT, Father TACHARD, and the Abbot DE CHOISI[1], and alſo on CONFUCIUS. By this Piece it appears, that he had no great opinion, either of CONFUCIUS, or of China: but he ſpeaks more particularly of that Country, in the *Letter* he wrote about the ſame time to M. JUSTEL, upon occaſion of the Diſpute between M. LIMBORCH and the Jew OROBIO[2]. 1688.

You know, Sir, that in the year 1685, a Book intitled, *The Life of the Viſcount* DE TURENNE, was publiſhed under the feign'd name of M. DU BUISSON, firſt Captain, and Major of the Regiment of VERDELIN[3]. The Houſe of Turenne was ſo diſſatisfied with it, that they reſolved to pitch upon ſome good Pen, to write the Life of that great Captain[4]. The Cardinal DE BOUILLON, who knew that M. DE ST. EVREMOND had been well acquainted with M. DE TURENNE, and doubted not but he had ſtudied his Genius, deſired he would furniſh him with ſome Memoirs towards his Hiſtory. M. DE ST. EVREMOND ſent him a little Piece[5],

[1] *Vol.* II. *pag.* 403.

[2] *Ibid. p.* 405.

[3] *See Mr. Bayle's* Réponſe aux Queſtions d'un Provincial, *Tom.* I. *pag.* 224.

[4] *The choice fell upon the Abbot Raguenet; but his work is not yet publiſh'd. Father le Long in his* Hiſtorical Library of France, n. 13657, *tells us that this Manuſcript Hiſtory of M. de Turenne is* compoſed with a great deal of care and exactneſs from the Memoirs of his Family and by their Order, *ſo that this* Life, *will in all probability, be quite different from that he has given us of* Oliver Cromwell, *in which there are almoſt as many Lyes and Blunders as Periods.*

[5] *Vol.* III. *pag.* 1.

1688. where, in the firſt place, he mentions by what ſteps the Mareſchal DE TURENNE raiſed himſelf to the Command of Armies. He ſhews what particular eſteem the Prince of CONDE' had for him, and with what application he endeavoured to improve himſelf, not only by his actions, but alſo by his converſation. "I remember, *ſays he*, he ask'd him one day, *how* "*he would manage the War in Flanders?* Make "but few Sieges, *anſwer'd the Mareſchal* DE "TURENNE, and give many Battles. When "you have once render'd your Army ſuperior "to that of the Enemy, both by the number "and goodneſs of the Troops; (which you have "near done already by the Battle of Rocroi;) "when you are once maſter of the open Coun-"try, the Villages will be of as much ſervice "as the fortified Towns: but men rather place "their honour in reducing a Fortreſs, than in "the means of making an eaſy conqueſt of a "whole Province. If the King of Spain had "laid out as much in forming Armies as it coſt "him in men and money to make Sieges and "fortify Places, he would by this time, have "been the moſt potent King in Europe." M. DE ST. EVREMOND mentions ſome of the Mareſchal DE TURENNE's great Actions; ſhews what important ſervices he did the Court during the Civil Wars; and makes afterward ſome reflections on his zeal for the welfare of the State, and the honour of his Country, on his improvement of the Military Diſcipline, on his conduct in relation to Cardinal MAZARIN, on his Change of Religion, and, in the laſt place, on the marks of eſteem and gratitude with which the King honoured him, even after his Death; his Majeſty having ordered him to be interred at St. Denis, among the Kings

Kings of France. M. DE ST. EVREMOND 1688.
acquaints us in that Piece, with a particular, which, perhaps, you will be glad to find here; which is, that the Mareſchal DE TURENNE allowed Fortune little or no ſhare in the Events of War, but was of opinion, that the Loſs of a Battle was ever to be aſcribed to the ill Conduct of the Generals. *When a man boaſts*, ſaid he, *that he has been guilty of no errors in War, he convinces me that he has not been long a ſoldier.* He ſaid likewiſe, that he loſt the Battles of Mariendal and Rhetel only for not ſtrictly purſuing the Maxims of War.

M. DE ST. EVREMOND reviſed at that time, the *Parallel between the Prince of* CONDE' *and the Mareſchal* DE TURENNE; which he had rough drawn during his ſtay in Holland[1]. A Fragment of it was inſerted in the *Memoirs for the Life of the Prince of* CONDE'[2], and reprinted at Paris five years ago, in a Collection of Miſcellanies, publiſhed under the name of M. DE ST. EVREMOND.

The Revolution which raiſed the Prince of 1689.
ORANGE to the Throne of Great Britain, was advantageous to M. DE ST. EVREMOND. That Prince had been very kind to him in Holland, and when he came to be King of England, gave him ſeveral ſubſtantial marks of his Favour. He often took him into his Parties of Pleaſure, and loved to converſe with him, and to hear him talk of the great Captains that he had ſeen in France, and of the military tranſactions to which he had been witneſs.

M. DE ST. EVREMOND thought of nothing but ending his days in peace in England;

[1] *Vol.* III. *pag.* 11.

[2] *Theſe* Memoirs, *printed at Cologn, or rather at Amſterdam, in* 1693, *were written by M. la Brune.*

1689. when he received Letters from the Count DE GRAMMONT, acquainting him that the King of France had declared, that *he might return, and ſhould be well received.* His Majeſty perceiving that a War was breaking out between the two Nations, thought it would be dangerous for M. DE ST. EVREMOND to ſtay with a People exaſperated againſt France: but his merit had acquired him the general eſteem and good-will of the Engliſh. The Count DE GRAMMONT congratulated him upon the favourable regard the King had for him, and deſired him to haſten his Return; as did ſeveral other perſons of diſtinction: but they were very much ſurprized, when they ſaw he had no mind to leave England. He anſwer'd Count DE GRAMMONT, that he had a deep ſenſe of gratitude for the favour his Majeſty intended him, and would have readily accepted it, were he in a condition to enjoy it; but that the Infirmities almoſt inſeparable from old Age, wou'd not permit him to undertake ſuch a Journey, and to leave a Country where he lived very agreeably.

At that time, ſome Members of the Houſe of Commons, zealous Reformers, complained againſt the Dutcheſs of MAZARIN, and moved that ſhe might be ſent out of England; but no regard was had to their Remonſtrances. The King pitying the unfortunate condition of that illuſtrious Lady, took her into his protection, and allowed her a Penſion of two thouſand Pounds a year. 'Tis true, that ſhe was reduced to very great extremity, being very deep in Debt, perſecuted by her Creditors, and no remedy left. The Duke of MAZARIN, who ſquander'd the immenſe Eſtate ſhe brought him, among a pack of Monks and Devotees, left her in want of every thing. For about fifteen years ſhe had

receiv'd nothing of the Penſion of 24000 Livres, which he had engaged to pay her. The Bigotry of the Devotees ſupplies the place of all Virtue with them, and they think themſelves excuſed from all manner of Obligations civil and natural. The Duke of MAZARIN did not only deprive his Dutcheſs of the enjoyment of what was due to her, but attempted to put it out of her power for ever to claim it. He entered an Action againſt her for living ſeparately from him; and demanded, that in caſe ſhe refuſed to return home, ſhe might be declared to have forfeited all her right to Contracts. The Dutcheſs remonſtrated, that ſhe could not leave England without paying the Debts ſhe had contracted here; but the Duke of MAZARIN had not ſo nice a regard to juſtice. He perſiſted in his Demands, and got her condemned by a Decree of the Grand Council. 1689.

The *Pleading* which Monſieur ERARD, the Duke of MAZARIN's Council at Law, made againſt her, was printed at Paris ſome time after the Trial of that Cauſe was over; but did not come to the Dutcheſs's hands till the year 1696. She was ſo enraged at the manner in which ſhe was treated in that Writing, that ſhe cauſed an Anſwer to be made to it; but having communicated the ſame to M. DE ST. EVREMOND, he did not like it, and took upon him to write one himſelf. He deſigned to have inſerted nothing perſonal againſt the Duke of MAZARIN; but the Dutcheſs oppoſed it, ſaying, *ſhe knew very well, a Wife ought not to go from her Husband; and therefore nothing but a lively repreſentation of his Injuſtice and Folly could juſtify her to the World.* Nor would ſhe ſuffer Monſieur ERARD to be ſpared, *for having*, added ſhe, *tranſgreſſed the laws of truth, good*

1689. *ſenſe, and decency, in relation to her.* M. DE ST. EVREMOND's Anſwer to M. ERARD's Pleading, was publiſhed in London in the year 1696, with this title: *An Anſwer to the Pleading of M.* HERARD, *Advocate in the grand Council, or rather to the Invective, or Libel, which the Duke of* MAZARIN *cauſed to be printed againſt his Lady the Dutcheſs.* There was a Preface written by Mr. JOHN DUBOURDIEU [1], containing an Encomium on the Dutcheſs of MAZARIN; but M. DE ST. EVREMOND thought it was too long, and abridged it. [2]

1692. The Diſpute which aroſe in France about the Antients and the Moderns, was often the ſubject matter of Converſation at the Dutcheſs of MAZARIN's: and becauſe M. DE ST. EVREMOND generally took the part of the Moderns, and commended the beſt French Authors, ſhe engaged him to write his *Judgment* on MALHERBE, VOITURE, SARASIN, BENSERADE, CORNEILLE, RACINE, DESPREAUX, and LA FONTAINE [3]. He alſo wrote about that time a copy of Verſes, wherein he maintains, that as to Philoſophy, Wit, and Gallantry, the Moderns excel the Antients [4].

1693. The Dutcheſs of MAZARIN falling ſick in 1693, M. DE ST. EVREMOND wrote a *Dialogue* in Verſe [5] between the *Old Man*, that is, himſelf, *and Death*: which, as was very well obſerved [6], *is an imitation of the Prologue of the Alceſtes*

[1] *A Miniſter of the French Church in the Savoy, who in* 1705 *publiſhed an* Hiſtorical Diſſertation upon the Thebean Legion; *plainly proving it to be fabulous.*

[2] *Vol.* III. *pag.* 17.

[3] *Vol.* II. *pag.* 417.

[4] *See the* Works of M. de St. Evremond *in French.*

[5] *See the ſaid* Works *in French.*

[6] Memoires pour l'Hiſtoire des Sciences & des beaux Arts; *Janv.* 1706. *pag.* 30, 31.

Alceſtes in Euripides; *tho it ſurpaſſes its Original by the Delicacy of the turn, and the nice ſatyr that runs thro' it. The Queſtion is, whether any body will die for the Dutcheſs of* MAZARIN? *And this gives the Author occaſion to muſter up all the Friends, of both Sexes, of the illuſtrious ſick Lady; that is to ſay, almoſt the whole Court of England. Their Characters are touched with a maſterly hand.* 1693.

Not long after, the Abbot DE CHAULIEU ſent a Poem to the Dutcheſs of MAZARIN, and with it a Letter in Verſe [1], which contained a very delicate Encomium upon M. DE ST. EVREMOND. That ingenious Abbot compared him to OVID; to which he anſwered thus: "There's no Compariſon but what's "injurious to you; there's no advantageous "one, which I may claim with reaſon. That "of OVID does not ſute with me. He was "the moſt witty and the moſt unfortunate man "of his time: I am not like him, either as to "wit or misfortunes. He was exiled among "Barbarians, where he made fine Verſes; but "ſo melancholy and doleful, that they raiſe as "great contempt for his weakneſs, as compaſ-"ſion for his diſgrace. Where I am, I daily ſee "the Dutcheſs of MAZARIN; I live among "ſociable people, who have a great deal of "merit, and a great deal of wit. I make very "indifferent Verſes; but ſo gay, that they make "my Humour to be envy'd, while they make "my Poetry be laugh'd at. I have too little "Money; but I love to be in a Country where "there's enough: beſides, the uſe of it ends with "our Lives; and the conſideration of a greater "evil, is a ſort of remedy againſt a leſſer. Thus "you ſee I have ſeveral Advantages over

[1] *See the French Edition of M. de St. Evremond's* Works.

1693. "OVID. 'Tis true he was more fortunate at "Rome with JULIA, than I have been at Lon-"don with HORTENSIA: but the favours of "JULIA were the occasion of his misfortune, "and the rigours of HORTENSIA do not "make a man of my age uneasy.

1695. M. DE ST. EVREMOND being included in the Tax the Parliament had laid on Batchelors, took occasion from thence to write a Copy of Verses full of fire and gaiety [1].

1696. The Count DE GRAMMONT fell dangerously ill in the year 1696; of which the King being informed, and knowing besides that he was inclined to Libertinism; he was pleased to send the Marquis of DANGEAU to see how he did, and to advise him to think of God. Hereupon Count DE GRAMMONT turning towards his Wife, who had ever been a very devout Lady, told her, *Countess, if you don't look to it,* DANGEAU, *will juggle you out of my Conversion.* Madam DE L'ENCLOS having afterwards written to M. DE ST. EVREMOND, that Count DE GRAMMONT was recover'd, and turned Devout; *I have learned,* answered he to her [2], *with a great deal of pleasure, that Count* DE GRAMMONT *has recovered his former Health, and acquired a new Devotion. Hitherto I have been contented with being a plain honest man; but I must do something more, and I only wait for your example to become a Devotee. You live in a Country where people have wonderful advantages of saving their Souls. There Vice is almost as opposite to the Mode, as to Virtue; sinning passes for ill-breeding, and shocks Decency and good Manners, as much as Religion. Formerly it was enough to be wicked; now*

[1] *See the* Works *of M. de St. Evremond in French.*
[2] *Vol.* II. *pag.* 431, 434.

now one muſt be a ſcoundrel withal, to be damn'd in France. They who have not regard enough for another Life, are led to Salvation by the conſiderations and duties of this. 1696.

In the year 1697, M. DE ST. EVREMOND compoſed a little Piece againſt the Abbot RENAUDOT, on the ſubject of the *Hiſtorical and Critical Dictionary*. This Work was ſo greedily bought up in France, that the Bookſellers of Paris reſolved to reprint it, and applied to the Chancellor for a Licenſe. The Chancellor ordered the Abbot RENAUDOT to examine it, if there was nothing againſt the Government, or againſt the Roman Catholick Religion. The Abbot, inſtead of complying with the demand, drew up a Memorial, in which he ſet up for a Critick. It was printed in Holland, with the Title of, *The Judgment of the Publick upon the Hiſtorical and Critical Dictionary*. But the Judgment of the Publick was very different from that of the Abbot RENAUDOT. The *Critical Dictionary* was received in England with univerſal applauſe. The Dutcheſs of MAZARIN was charmed with it. M. DE ST. EVREMOND peruſed it with ſo much pleaſure, that having read the Abbot RENAUDOT's *Judgment*, he diverted himſelf with writing an *Anſwer* to it [1], wherein he rallies the Abbé with an infinite deal of wit. When the ſecond Edition of that *Dictionary* came out, he long'd to ſee it, and I ſent it to him. The Reader will perceive by the *Letter* he did me the honour to write to me at that time [2], how fond he was of that Work, and how much he valued its Author. 1697.

I

[1] *Vol.* III. *pag.* 41.
[2] *Ibid. pag.* 76.

1697. I have already acquainted you, Sir, that in the year 1668, ſome of M. DE ST. EVREMOND's Works had been printed in Paris, but ſo full of faults, that he ſcarce could know them to be his own. Nevertheleſs, thoſe Pieces were ſo well received by the Publick, that BARBIN, the Paris Bookſeller, uſed all poſſible means to get more of them: he even added ſeveral Treatiſes and Writings, in which M. DE ST. EVREMOND had not the leaſt ſhare, ſome of which were beſpoke on purpoſe. A man of Letters going one day to viſit an Author who wrote very politely, BARBIN came up, and applying himſelf to the Author, ſaid, *For God's ſake make me ſome more* ST. EVREMOND: *you have already made me ſome, which turned to account.*

As M. DE ST. EVREMOND was not very fond of the merit of being an Author, he left his Works to chance, not caring how they fared. How disfigured ſoever they were by others, he never gave himſelf the trouble to adverti ſe the Publick of it [1]; he contented himſelf with telling his Friends in Converſation: *he wiſhed that none of his Writings had ever been publiſhed. The world would not ſee in them,* added he, *ſeveral faults of which I am ſenſible my ſelf, and which I might have avoided: but writing only for my ſelf, or to pleaſe my Friends, I did not affect nicety. However,* continued he, *they ought to have printed thoſe Pieces, as I had writ them, and have left no other but my own faults in them: but they have made ſuch alterations in them, that I am an abſolute ſtranger to my own Works.* Thoſe faults are infinite, and there are many places abſolutely unintelligible [2].

And

[1] *See what he writes to Madam de l'Enclos, above, p.* cxxv.

[2] *See this* Life of M. de St. Evremond *in French.*

And indeed, when we reflect on the prodigious number of faults that had crept into those Writings of M. DE ST. EVREMOND, we cannot but wonder how they came to be receiv'd with so much applause. This must be owing to the number of shining Beauties still remaining in them, which secur'd him from the Censure of good Judges, and justify'd him as to errors proceeding from the ignorance of Printers or Transcribers. Nevertheless one very obscure Author, thought fit to ascribe them to M. DE ST. EVREMOND. This Censor cou'd not be ignorant that M. DE ST. EVREMOND had no concern in the Impression of the Works published in his Name, and that several Pieces were added to them, which were not his. Why must he be answerable for the faults of others? But Authors who write for bread, give themselves all manner of liberty. This Censor intended at first, only to publish *Reflections upon the various Styles and Methods of Writing*; which was the Title of his Book. But he thought it wou'd turn more to his account, to make it pass for a Criticism upon M. DE ST. EVREMOND, and he adjusted it to that Character. It was publish'd in 1698 with the Title of, *a Dissertation on the Miscellaneous Works of M. de St. Evremond*, &c. The Author disguised himself under the Name of DUMONT: but his real Name was COTOLENDI, a Native of Provence, and he is the same who in 1694 publish'd a Volume of insipid Jests, under the Title of *Arlequiniana* [1]. It is thought that Mr. ERARD, being nettled by M. DE ST. 1697. 1698.

[1] *See the Advertisement prefix'd to the* Theatre Italien *of* Gherardi; *and the* Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres *for February* 1706, *pag.* 208.

1698. DE ST. EVREMOND's Anſwer to his Pleading againſt the Dutcheſs of MAZARIN, had a ſhare in that Criticiſm [s].

M. COTOLENDI owns in his Preface, that the Works of M. DE ST. EVREMOND had the approbation of the Publick. *Never was Author*, ſays he, *ſo happy; 'tis fifty years, and perhaps more that his Works have been admir'd, and no body has yet perceiv'd that moſt of the things he ſays are not underſtood, and the Publick has a ſort of traditional reſpect for him, which makes them look upon the leaſt of his Fragments as myſteries, which people adore in ſilence without preſuming to dive into.*

He does not doubt, but the Readers will be prejudic'd at firſt againſt his Criticiſm: but he hopes that if it be examin'd with Candor, the prejudice will wear off. "The very Title, *ſays he*, is enough at firſt ſight to arm a multitude "of M. DE ST. EVREMOND's admirers a- "gainſt me: and as in reading it, (if they will "be at ſo much pains), they will have an inve- "terate and almoſt invincible prejudice, they "will find infinite abſurdities in my Remarks; "but if it is poſſible to read them to the end, "to examine with their own eyes the clear ex- "preſſions which I have ſubſtituted in the room "of M. DE ST. EVREMOND's obſcure "phraſes, if they manifeſtly ſee that he con- "tradicts himſelf in very many places, that he "does not underſtand ſeveral things that he "mentions, and that he is deceiv'd even in the "more common articles, I deſire them for "their own honour, to return from their preju- "dice,

[s] *See the* Hiſtorical and Critical Dictionary *at the Article of* HENAULT, *Rem.* (B)

" dice, and to be on their guard againſt his 1698.
" ſmartneſs and vivacity.

After all, he owns, that *the Reflections which he has attempted cannot do any harm to the great Reputation of* M. DE ST. EVREMOND. *I am*, ſays he, *an unknown man, without any other capacity than what I have aequir'd from the ill digeſted reading of ſome Book, and conſequently my thoughts upon his Works are of no importance.* The Publick was of the ſame mind.

Mr. DE BAUVAL, who had that Book tranſmitted to him, deferr'd giving an account of it in his Journal[t], till he was ſure that M. DE ST. EVREMOND wou'd not take it amiſs. He wrote therefore to Dr. SILVESTRE; and let him know, at the ſame time, that ſome body at Paris was writing an Anſwer to that Criticiſm. M. DE ST. EVREMOND deſired Dr. SILVESTRE to return Mr. DE BAUVAL thanks for his civility. *I have not yet peruſed*, adds he, *the Criticiſm of what people call* My Works. *Several of thoſe little Pieces are, indeed, of my own Writing, but a far greater number are not; and in thoſe that are really ſo, it is hard to believe how many things have either been added, or left out. I am not apprehenſive of that Criticiſm: for it is either juſt, and if ſo, I ſhall mend; or it is ill-grounded, and in that caſe, I ſhall be ſatisfied with the Author's being in the wrong. What I am afraid of, is the* Apology *you mention. M.* DE BAUVAL *having Friends and Correſpondents every where, and his merit having gain'd him a great intereſt with all Men of Letters, he will infinitely oblige me in preventing the printing of that zealous Apology.*

Some

[t] Hiſtoire des Ouvrages des Savans.

1698. Some time after, Dr. SILVESTRE ſent that pretended Criticiſm to M. DE ST. EVREMOND, who paſs'd the following Judgment upon it:

" I ſend you back, *ſaid he*, the Criticiſm on " my Works: I have peruſed it with attention, " and, after all, am at a loſs whether I ought " to complain of, or thank its Author. To go " about, as he ſays, to undeceive people, who " for fifty years have been impoſed upon by my " Writings, is to ſhew a zeal for the Publick " which is not very obliging to me: but, at the " ſame time, 'tis making me a ſort of Conjurer; " and perhaps there may be more merit in thus " deceiving the Publick for ſo many years, than " in undeceiving them.

" The ſtreſs of this Criticiſm chiefly conſiſts " in taking notice of my intricate Expreſſions: " and I might take his Cenſure for a good piece " of advice; ſince it concerns me to have my " Thoughts underſtood. I'll give him Counſel " for Counſel: not to make his Thoughts ſo " clear; for they are too eaſily ſeen thro'. " Common things make us regret the time we " beſtow on peruſing them: whereas delicate " Thoughts give a nice Reader a ſatisfaction, " both in his own Judgment and Taſte.

" I own, I contradict my ſelf ſometimes. I " commend Conſtancy in a Lady whom I be- " lieve to have an affection for me: and I ad- " viſe her to be fickle, who has a kindneſs for " another Lover. I am neither of the ſame hu- " mour, nor the ſame opinion at ſixty years of " Age, as I was at thirty; or at fourſcore, as I " was at ſixty. Another Contradiction this!

" After all, I find in that Criticiſm ſeveral " things juſtly cenſured; many Digreſſions, on " occaſion of what he ſays, on what he rehearſes

" out

" out of the Biſhop of Meaux, the Biſhop of 1698.
" Niſmes, M. DESPREAUX, Father BOU-
" HOURS, and other Moderns. I cannot deny
" he writes well: but his Zeal for Religion and
" good Morals exceeds all; and I ſhould gain
" leſs by exchanging my Style, than my Con-
" ſcience with his.

" I have a great value for his exactneſs in
" Criticiſm. He makes it his buſineſs to cenſure
" even Treatiſes, that are none of mine; and
" Faults in ſuch as are, that I never committed.
" 'Tis true, he ſometimes gives me too much
" Praiſe: ſo that all things conſider'd, the Fa-
" vour he ſhews me, exceeds the ſeverity of his
" Cenſure: and I may ſincerely aver, that I en-
" tertain more gratitude for his mildneſs, than
" reſentment for his rigour. He may already
" have the ſatisfaction to ſee how I improve by
" his leſſons of Chriſtianity. Authors never for-
" give; no, not the Philoſophers, nor even the
" Saints: yet as ignorant, as profane as I am, I
" not only forgive M. DUMONT, but take his
" Criticiſm kindly. I ſhould not think my ſelf
" ſo far oblig'd to one that ſhould write my
" *Apology*: for I hate indiſcreet Zeal, and am
" more ready to diſown what might be ſaid to
" my praiſe, than to my diſcredit."

That *Apology* was publiſhed at Paris ſix months after the Criticiſm, with this Title: *An Apology for the Works of M. de St. Evremond, with his Encomium and Picture, and a Diſcourſe on Criticiſms*, &c. M. BOYER DE RUVIERE, an Advocate, was the Author of this Piece, which M. DE ST. EVREMOND having peruſed, he gave his Judgment upon it in theſe words: *I like*, ſays he, *very well the* Diſcourſe on Criticiſms. *The Author writes well: but I am a*

1698. *ſtranger to my ſelf in the Picture he makes of me. Had he flatter'd me leſs, he would not have ſo diſfigured me. I am however, very much oblig'd to him, for his zeal and care. I could free my ſelf from any engagement of gratitude, by ſaying, that he wrote in behalf of another perſon.*

The Dutcheſs of MAZARIN uſed to ſpend the fine Seaſon at Chelſey, a Village on the Thames three Miles from London, which was at that time the Rendezvous of thoſe Perſons that paid their court to her. M. DE ST. EVREMOND was very aſſiduous in his Viſits. There they enjoyed the innocent Diverſions of
1699. the Country. But in 1699, an end was put to all thoſe Pleaſures. Madam MAZARIN fell ſick in the beginning of June that Year, and dy'd the twenty ſecond of the ſame Month, aged about fifty three. She preſerved her Beauty to the laſt. Time, which conſumes every thing, had a reſpect for her Charms. I ſhall not give her Encomium here, M. DE ST. EVREMOND having done it in an hundred places. You deſire, Sir, to know what Thoughts ſhe entertain'd of Religion at the point of Death; and I am to tell you, that ſhe retain'd to the laſt the ſame Sentiments which M. DE ST. EVREMOND aſcribes to her in one of his Letters above mention'd [1].

M. DE ST. EVREMOND ſuſtain'd an irreparable loſs by her death. The Converſation of ſo accompliſh'd a Lady was every thing to him: it made him forget his Diſgrace, and furniſh'd him with a thouſand agreeable Amuſements. Her Houſe was become his, and to loſe the uſe of it, was to be reduc'd to a ſecond Baniſhment, more inſupportable than the firſt. The

[1] *See pag.* CXV, CXVI.

The Dutcheſs had always a very great eſteem and regard for him. She ſcolded at him ſometimes; for her temper was ſomewhat fickle and capricious; but theſe ſallies were of no conſequence. She cou'd no more live without his Converſation, than he could live without her. After all, ſhe had not a more faithful firm Friend upon earth; and this mutual attachment laſted five and twenty years. He was ſo touch'd with her Death, that for a long time he could not ſpeak of her without expreſſing his ſorrow. He has lamented her in ſome *Stanzas* [1], wherein he has painted her uncommon merit. 1699.

His Friends in France renew'd upon this occaſion their ſollicitations to him to return. They thought the Death of this Lady had broke the ties which bound him ſo faſt to England, and that he would be very glad to come and live with his old Friends, and to forſake thoſe Places which only fed his ſorrow. But he deſir'd them to conſider, that a Man of his Years could hardly change Climates without impairing his Conſtitution; that therefore he did not think fit to leave a Country, where he was pretty well in health, and had ſtill many Friends, to tranſplant himſelf, as it were, into a new World; and after all, that his Circumſtances were ſuch, as wou'd not permit him to leave England. *You could not*, ſaid he to the Marquis DE CANAPLES, afterwards Duke DE LESDIGUIERES, *you could not give me better proofs of your Friendſhip, than upon this occaſion, when I want the tenderneſs of my Friends, and the fortitude of my own mind to ſupport me. If I were but thirty Years of Age, it would be difficult for me to retrieve ſuch a charming Converſation;*

[1] *See the* Works of M. de St. Evremond *in French.*

1699. *ſation; and, old as I am, it is altogether impoſſible. Yours, my Lord, and that of ſome Perſons who are ſtill concern'd for me, would indeed be a great relief to me at Paris; and I ſhould go over and ſeek it without delay, if the Infirmities of extreme Old Age were not a great obſtacle to it. Beſides, what ſhould I do at Paris; but either hide my ſelf, or appear with various horrors about me; often ſick, always infirm and crazy? It might be ſaid of me, what Madam* DE CORNUEL *ſaid of a certain Lady,* I ſhould be glad to know the Church-yard where ſhe goes to renew her Skeleton [1]. *Theſe are good reaſons for me not to leave England. The ſtrongeſt is, that the ſmall Eſtate I have, could not croſs the Sea with me; for it would be impoſſible for me to draw it from hence. 'Tis true it's next to nothing; but then it's upon that nothing I live. The Dutcheſs of* MAZARIN *ow'd me once eight hundred Pounds ſterling, of which ſhe died four hundred Guineas in my debt. Indeed, ſhe diſpos'd of what I had more than my ſelf. The extremities to which ſhe was reduc'd, are not to be conceiv'd. However, I'd freely give all I have left, ſo that ſhe were ſtill alive. You loſe in her one of your beſt Friends, and you can't imagine how much ſhe is regretted, both by private Perſons, and the Publick. She had ſuch an indifference for Life, that there's reaſon to believe ſhe was not ſorry to part with it. The Engliſh, who excel all other Nations in the point of dying, ought to look upon her with envy.*

I came to England about that time, and having the honour to converſe often with M. DE ST. EVREMOND, I ſollicited him ſeveral times

[1] *This Lady, who had naturally a pale meagre Countenance, appear'd ſometimes with a freſh lively red Complexion,* &c.

times to publiſh his Works: but he always declined it; and I was afterwards informed, that his Friends could never prevail with him to do it. He told me himſelf, that the Marquis DE SAISSAC had offer'd him three hundred Guineas, if he would give them to him with a ſhort Preface, in which he ſhould own them to be genuine. Monſieur DE BARILLON, the French Ambaſſador, would have given him a hundred Pounds for the ſingle *Comedy of the Opera's*. Several other attempts were made upon him of the ſame nature, but all in vain. The Sieur BARBIN deſired him to ſend him his Picture, with his laſt Writings, and to mark the Pieces which were his, in the Volumes publiſhed under his name: to which he returned the following Anſwer: 1699.

" I am very much obliged to you, Sir, for " your good opinion of the trifles that have " dropp'd from my pen, which people are ſo " kind as to call my *Works*. If I was of an " age in which my imagination could furniſh " me with ſuch; whatever they might be, I " ſhould not fail to ſend them to you: the " beauty of the Impreſſion would recommend " them. But the little genius I once had, is ſo " worn out, that I find it very hard to make any " uſe of it, even for things that are neceſſary to " life. It is not for me now to mind my plea- " ſure and diverſion; my only concern is, to " live.

" You deſire I would inform you what be- " longs to me in the ſmall Pieces which have " been printed under my name. There is " ſcarce any of them in which I have not the " beſt ſhare; but I find them either quite al- " tered or enlarged. The *great Bells of St.*

1699. " *Germain des Prez*, which LUIGI *admired*[1], " do by no means belong to me. This is the " firſt Addition I can think of. The *Charms of* " *Friendſhip*; the long *Letter of Conſolation to a* " *Lady*; the *Reflections on the Doctrine of Epi-* " *curus*; the *Eloquence of Petronius*, and ſome " others which I do not remember, do not " belong to me in the leaſt.

" If I were young and handſome, I ſhould not " be ill pleaſed to ſee my Picture at the begin- " ning of a Book: but it would be making a " ſcurvy preſent to the Reader, to give him an " old and ugly Portraiture of a man of eighty " five years of age.

" My Eyes fail me; I can neither read nor " write, but with much pain. You will excuſe " me that I cannot give you a more exact ac- " count of that which you inquire of me."

1700. Nevertheleſs, in 1700, the Sieur BARBIN publiſhed a Volume intitled, *new Miſcellaneous Works of M. de Saint-Evremont*[2], to which the Abbot RAGUENET wrote a Preface in the name of the Bookſeller. But what was properly M. DE ST. EVRE-MOND's, made but one third of the Volume; the reſt ſerving only to ſwell it out, which was BARBIN's practice. However, by that means he has recovered ſeveral Pieces of which M. DE ST. EVREMOND had no Copy, and which would have been loſt.

At that time, M. COTOLENDI publiſhed a Book under the title of *Saint-Evremoniana*, which he affirms in the Preface to be *a Collection of*

[1] *This nonſenſe had been foiſted into the* Reflections upon the Opera's: Luigi was tranſported to hear for the firſt time the great Bells of St. Germain des Prez.

[2] Nouvelles Oeuvres meſlées de Monſieur de St. Evremont.

of ſeveral things which ſome perſons remembered to have been formerly ſaid by M. DE ST. EVREMOND; and that the *Reflections* which are found in it *were, or might be his Sentiments.* But this was a groſs forgery and impoſition upon the Publick. M. COTOLENDI is not the only man that has palmed his Productions upon the world under the name of M. DE ST. EVREMOND. For in 1701 the Abbot PIC publiſhed a Book intitled, *a New Collection of ſeveral Pieces of M. de Saint Evremont, not yet publiſhed*[1]. But in the whole Volume, there was none of M. DE ST. EVREMOND's Pieces but one, and even that was maimed and disfigured. In 1696 there likewiſe came out a Romance very well writ, with this title: *Memoirs of the Life of Count * * * before his Retirement. Containing ſeveral Adventures that may ſerve for the Inſtruction of thoſe who are to live among perſons of quality. Digeſted by M. de Saint Evremont*[2]. Theſe *Memoirs* were writ by the Abbot DE VILLIERS, ſo well known by ſeveral Works which have had the approbation of the Publick[3]. 1700. 1701.

Thus have the Hackney-Writers, or ſuch as had not a mind to be known, ſent their Writings abroad under the name of M. DE ST. EVREMOND. They took advantage of the averſion he had to the publiſhing of his genuine

[1] Nouveau Recueil d'Ouvrages de Monſieur de Saint Evremont, qui n'ont pas encore été publiez. *A Paris chez Aniſſon.*

[2] Memoires de la Vie du Comte de * * * avant ſa Retraite. Contenant diverſes Avantures qui peuvent ſervir d'inſtruction à ceux qui ont à vivre dans le grand monde. Redigez par Monſieur de Saint Evremont. 4 *Vol. in* 12°. *Theſe* Memoirs *have been publiſh'd in Engliſh under the title of* Female Falſhood, *&c.*

[3] *I have given a larger account of theſe ſuppoſititious Writings in the* Life of M. de St. Evremond, *in French.*

1701. Works. His Friends, as I have already ſaid, could never perſuade him to it. However, he made no ſcruple to mark thoſe Pieces which were falſly aſcribed to him. He was pleaſed to grant me the ſame favour; but in my Copy he not only diſtinguiſhed the Works pretended to be his, but alſo took the trouble to make ſeveral Corrections in thoſe which were genuine. He alſo corrected ſome, which I had in Manuſcript. He even explained ſeveral Paſſages relating to circumſtances that were not known to me.

About this time, M. DE LA MOTTE, who is no leſs diſtinguiſh'd by his Learning, than by his Friendſhip and officious Zeal for Learned Men[1], wrote to me from Amſterdam, that the Bookſeller [2] who had printed ſeveral Editions of the *Miſcellaneous Works of M. de St. Evremond*, was about printing a new one, from a Copy in which M. DE ST. EVREMOND had mark'd the Pieces he diſown'd. I anſwer'd M. DE LA MOTTE, I thought I could procure a more exact Copy than that: whereupon the
1702. Bookſeller deſired me to communicate it to him, which I did ſome time after. I had put together, and in ſome order, all the Pieces that had been publiſh'd under the name of M. DE ST. EVREMOND, and which were really his. I had corrected them by my Copy, reviſed by himſelf; added to them ſome Pieces not yet publiſhed; and illuſtrated ſome Paſſages with Notes, that I had from him.

This, Sir, ſince you deſire to know it, was the nature of that Copy. In this I had two things in view: firſt, to collect the genuine Works

[1] *Peter Mortier, Bookſeller at Amſterdam.*

Works of M. DE ST. EVREMOND in one Volume; and, ſecondly, to engage M. DE ST. EVREMOND to publiſh an Edition of them himſelf. In order to that, I acquainted him with what I had made bold to do without his privity; and the Copy I had ſent to Holland not being yet put to the Preſs, I repreſented to him, that it were much better to publiſh all his Works together, as he had compoſed them, than to ſuffer a part of them to be reprinted, as defective as it ſtill would be in that new Impreſſion. He, at firſt, ſeemed averſe to it: but ſome time after, he alter'd his mind, and was pleaſed to commit the care of that Edition to me. He told me likewiſe, *he would mark what was fit to be printed, and what not:* for he was not for printing every thing he had written. Hereupon I wrote to the Amſterdam Bookſeller to forbear printing the Copy I had ſent him; becauſe, altho it was infinitely better than what had till then been publiſhed, yet as M. DE ST. EVREMOND had at length determined to publiſh his Works, it would be better to ſtay till that Edition came out [1]. Mean time I tranſcribed his Manuſcripts, and communicated to him the copies I made of them. I deſired him to reviſe once more the Pieces that had been printed, of which he had loſt the Originals. When we read them together, I took care to get ſuch proper Names reſtored, as were either ſuppreſſed, or mark'd by one ſingle initial Letter. I informed my ſelf of the time and occaſion on which each Piece had been written, and of the alluſions to paſſages not generally known, or to particular circumſtances, *&c.* His advanced Age and Infirmities

1702.

1703.

[1] *See the* Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres, *for the Month of Auguſt* 1704. *pag.* 163.

1703. giving me reaſon to apprehend that he had not long to live, I made all poſſible haſte: and we had gone thro' the reviſing of his Works, a few ſmall Pieces excepted, when I was obliged to go and paſs two or three months in the Country.

In the mean while M. DE ST. EVREMOND, who was troubled with a Strangury, found himſelf, on the ſudden, very much weakned, thro' frequent want of reſt, occaſioned by his Diſtemper; and his Stomach failed him. Hereupon, he often expreſſed a deſire to ſee me; and, even charged Dr. LE FE'VRE to write to me to come to him aſſoon as poſſible: but his Letter, having been long on the Road, came too late; and, at the ſame time, I received a ſecond, with the melancholy news, that M. DE ST. EVREMOND died the 9th of September, 1703; having made a Will whereby he diſpoſed of his ſmall Eſtate to his Servants, the Poor[r], and ſome of his Friends, amongſt whom he did me the honour to rank me. He did not mention his Manuſcripts in his Will; but ſome hours before his Death, M. LE FE'VRE asking him how he would have them diſpoſed of, he named Dr. SYLVESTRE, and they were delivered to him by order of the Earl of GALLWAY, his Executor.

He

[r] *The Will, which is dated the 24th of Auguſt* 1703, *begins thus:* I the Underwritten CHARLES DE ST. DENIS LE GUAST, Lord of ST. EVREMOND, of the Pariſh of St. James's Weſtminſter, being in ſound mind, memory, and underſtanding, and being willing to diſpoſe of ſuch Goods as I ſhall be poſſeſs'd of at my Death: In the firſt place, I implore God Almighty's Mercy, and ſurrender my Soul into his hands. I leave to the Executor of this my laſt Will the care of burying my Body, without Pomp, in ſuch manner as he ſhall think moſt fitting. I bequeath to the poor French Refugees the Sum of twenty Pounds Sterling. I alſo bequeath to the poor Roman Catholicks, or of any other Religion, the like Sum of twenty Pounds Sterling, *&c.*

Carolus de Saint Denis Dns de Saint Evremond
Nobili genere in Normannia ortus
A prima iuventute
Militiæ nomen dedit
Et per varia munera
Ad Castrorum Mareſcalli gradum evectus
Condæo Turennio
Aliisque claris belli ducibus
Fidem ſuam & fortitudinem
Non ſemel probavit.
Relicta patria Hollandiam
Deinde à Carolo II accitus Angliam
Venit.
Philoſophiam & humaniores litteras
Feliciter excoluit
Gallicam Linguam
Cum ſoluta tum numeris altricta oratione
Expolivit adornavit locupletavit
Apud potentiſſ. Angliæ Reges benevolent. & favorem
Apud regni proceres gratiam & familiaritatem
Apud omnes laudem & applauſum
Meruit.
Nonaginta annis major obiit
Die IX ſeptembris MDCCIII.
Viro clariſſimo
Inter præſtantiores
Ævi ſui ſcriptores
Semper memorando
Amici mœrentes
P. P.

He was ninety Years, five Months, and twenty Days old when he dy'd. He had order'd by his Will, that he ſhou'd be bury'd *without Pomp*, which was comply'd with: but the place choſe for his Burial was the Abbey or Collegiate Church of Weſtminſter; famous for the Tombs of the Kings of England, and of great numbers of perſons diſtinguiſh'd by their Birth, Learning, or Wit. He is interr'd in the Nave of the Church, near the Cloyſter, juſt by CASAUBON, CAMDEN, BARROW and the famous Engliſh Poets CHAUCER, SPENSER, COWLEY, &c. His Buſto is placed over his Epitaph, which is engraven on a white Marble-Stone, affix'd to the Wall over-againſt the place where his Body lies. I ſend you herewith a Draught of it.

He preſerv'd to the very laſt a lively imagination, a ſolid judgment, and a happy memory. The great and acute pains which he felt during his ſickneſs, never diſturb'd his tranquillity; he bore them with a courage and conſtancy, that may be envy'd by Philoſophers of the firſt rate.

The following is the true Pourtraiture of M. DE ST. EVREMOND.

M. DE ST. EVREMOND had blue, lively, and ſparkling Eyes, a large Fore-head, thick Eye-Brows, a handſome Mouth and a ſneering ſmile, an agreeable and ingenious Phyſiognomy. Twenty years before his Death, a Wen grew between his eye-brows, which in time, encreaſed to a conſiderable bigneſs. He once deſign'd to have it cut off: but as it was no ways troubleſome to him, and he little regarded that kind of deformity, Dr. LE FE'VRE adviſed him to let it alone, leſt ſuch an operation ſhould be attended with dangerous ſymptoms in a man of his

his Age. He would often make merry with himſelf on account of his Wen, his great Leather-Cap, and Grey-hair which he choſe to wear rather than a Periwig.

His Behaviour was civil and engaging, his Converſation lively and pleaſant, his Repartees quick and happy. We find very few that know how to read well. M. DE ST. EVREMOND told me one day that he had not known three in his whole life that could read juſtly. He had this art in perfection; and what is altogether as uncommon, he had a very happy way of telling a ſtory.

He had a ſtrong inclination to Satyr. The Ridicule he obſerv'd in Mankind made him merry, and he lov'd to expoſe it by fine pregnant Raillery, or by an ingenious Irony. The Encomia he gives in his Works, muſt not always be taken literally; for ſometimes they are ſtrokes of Satyr. The Dutcheſs of MAZARIN was very well apprized of it; and ſhe uſed to call him by way of banter *the old Satyr*. But he grew more indulgent towards the latter end of his Life; rather chuſing, as he intimates himſelf, to tell obliging Truths, than to give malicious Praiſe[1].

He always ſpoke of his Diſgrace with ſuch firmneſs and reſolution, as became a Gentleman. Whatever ſtrong deſire he had to ſee again his own Country, he never begg'd leave to return home, in a mean and cringing manner.

His Humour was ever gay and merry; which was ſo far from declining towards the latter end of his Life, that it ſeem'd rather to gather freſh ſtrength; of which you will find inſtances in the Works

[1] *See the* Sonnet *above pag.* cxxvi.

Works he wrote about that time. He was extreme fond of the company of young people; and delighted to hear the ſtories of their adventures; his mind being agreeably entertain'd with the idea of ſuch diverſions, as he was not able to enjoy.

Altho he did not pretend to over-rigid Morals, yet he had all the qualities of a man of honour. He was juſt, generous and grateful; and full of goodneſs and humanity.

As for his Religion, concerning which you deſire to be inform'd, I muſt acquaint you, that he ever profeſs'd the Romiſh, in which he was born. Nevertheleſs you aſſure me, that he was repreſented to you as Libertine or Free-thinker, chiefly becauſe during his laſt ſickneſs, he refuſed to admit any Prieſts to come to him: but as you deſire me, at the ſame time, not to write any thing about a matter of ſo great importance, but what I my ſelf knew, I have already anſwered you, by acquainting you that I was at that time in the Country. As for his ordinary Converſation, I can ſafely affirm to you, that he never let fall any looſe or licentious expreſſion againſt Religion; and that he cou'd not bear that any body ſhould droll upon it; which, ſaid he, bare Decency, and the regard due to one's Fellow-Citizens, will never ſuffer.

We ſee by his Writings that he had Learning: but his Learning was polite, and ſuitable to a perſon of his profeſſion and quality.

The Hiſtory of Men of Learning, and their Works pleaſed him very much, and ſometimes he made them the ſubject of his Converſation. The famous *Romance of the Roſe* being mention'd one day at his Lodgings, a Gentleman who happen'd to be there affirm'd that ABELARD was the Author of it. He had read

read this in the Abbot DE BELMONT's *Eſſays of Literature*, who, that he might have the honour of criticiſing you, ventur'd to ſay that *Fauchet always aſcrib'd it to Abelard*, and that *this* too *is the ſentiment of la Croix du Maine*[1]. I ſhew'd that it had ever been aſcribed to WILLIAM of LORRIS, and JOHN CLOPINEL, ſirnamed DE MEUN. Some days after, M. DE ST. EVREMOND deſired to ſee the proofs at large of what I advanc'd[2], whereupon I ſent him extracts from BOUCHET, LA CROIX DU MAINE, FAUCHET, and PASQUIER. I have taken the liberty to cauſe this *Letter* to be printed among the Works of M. DE ST. EVREMOND[3], to undeceive them who father that Romance upon ABELARD.

M. DE ST. EVREMOND was a paſſionate Lover of Muſick; and having ſome ſkill in the Compoſition, he ſet the *Idylles*, *Prologues*, and other Pieces, which were ſung at the Dutcheſs of MAZARIN's[4]: tho as to Symphonies, he left that part to be perform'd by the Sieur PAISIBLE, or ſome other able Muſician.

Moſt Authors being ſelf-conceited and fond of their Productions, either never conſult any body, or impatiently bear the Criticiſms of their Friends. M. DE ST. EVREMOND heard with pleaſure the Objections rais'd againſt his Compoſures; deſired his Criticks to help him to ſomething better than what they diſapproved; and never fail'd mending a fault, when he thought another man had hit better than himſelf.

In

[1] *See* Eſſais de Litterature, *by the Abbé Trigaut de Belmont, for the Month of May* 1703, *p.* 301. *Holl. Edition.*

[2] *Vol.* III. *pag.* 79.

[3] *Ibid. p.* 80.

[4] *See the* Works of M. de St. Evremond *in French.*

In order to compleat M. DE ST. EVREMOND's Character, I will add here that which he made for himſelf in the Year 1696, and ſent to the Count DE GRAMMONT, together with that Lord's Epitaph, who had been dangerouſly ill, but was then perfectly recovered.

" After having read, *ſays he*, the Epitaph " on the Count DE GRAMMONT, if you " have the curioſity to know him that made it, " I will give you his Character.

" He is a Philoſopher equally remote from " Superſtition and Impiety: a Voluptuary, who " has no leſs averſion for Debauchery, than in- " clination for Pleaſure; one, who never felt " the preſſure of Indigence, who was never ac- " quainted with Plenty. He lives in a Condi- " tion, deſpis'd by thoſe who have every thing, " envied by thoſe who have nothing, reliſhed " by thoſe who make their Reaſon the founda- " tion of their Happineſs. When he was " young, he hated Profuſeneſs; being perſua- " ded that Wealth is neceſſary for the Conve- " niences of a long Life: now he is old, he can " hardly endure Thriftineſs; being of opinion, " that Want is little to be dreaded, when a " man has but little time left to be miſerable. " He is well pleaſed with Nature, and does not " complain of Fortune. He hates Vice, is in- " dulgent to Frailties, and laments Misfortunes.

" He ſearches not after the failings of Men " with deſign to expoſe them, he only finds " out their Ridicule for his own diverſion: he " has a ſecret pleaſure in perceiving this him- " ſelf, he would have yet a greater in diſcover- " ing it to others, were he not check'd by " Diſcretion.

" Life,

" Life, in his opinion, is too ſhort to read " all ſorts of Books, and to burden one's Me- " mory with a multitude of things at the ex- " pence of one's Judgment: he does not ap- " ply himſelf to the moſt learned Writings, in " order to acquire Knowledge; but the moſt " rational, to fortify his Reaſon. Sometimes " he chooſes the moſt delicate, to render his " own taſte ſo; ſometimes the moſt agreea- " ble, to give the ſame turn to his own Ge- " nius.

" It remains, that I deſcribe him ſuch as he " is in Friendſhip and in Religion. In Friend- " ſhip, he is more conſtant than a Philoſopher; " and more ſincere than a young Man of good- " nature without experience. As to Religion,

" Juſtice and Charity ſupply the place
" Of rigid Penance, and a formal face.
" His Piety, without inflicted pains,
" Flows eaſy, and Auſterity diſdains.
" God only is the object of his care,
" Whoſe goodneſs leaves no room for black
" deſpair:
" Within the boſom of kind Providence,
" He places his repoſe, his bliſs, and ſure
" defence."

After having given you M. DE ST. EVREMOND's Character, you expect, no doubt Sir, that I ſhould give you ſome account of his Works. But it will not become me to praiſe them to you, who know the merit of 'em as well as any man upon earth. I have no need to make any Apology for them: they have been in poſſeſſion of the eſteem and approbation of

of the Publick forty years, and let the Publick juſtify their own taſte and opinion.

It has been objected that his Expreſſions were obſcure and perplexing; and that Objection was grounded on the firſt Impreſſions of his Works, where indeed there are ſeveral places obſcure, and even unintelligible: but thoſe were not his Works. Nevertheleſs, it may be ſaid, that they are not within the reach of all capacities: penetration and good taſte are neceſſary to underſtand them well.

It is ſaid his Style does not flow very natural, but that 'tis too much labour'd and forc'd, and that there are too many Antitheſes in it. 'Tis true that to ſome Paſſages he might have given a much more eaſy, natural turn: he own'd it himſelf; but he was not willing to be a ſlave to the ſcrupulous Rules of the Grammarians. He was ſenſible that a Style too much poliſh'd and fil'd enervates a Diſcourſe, and renders it too dry and uniform. He expreſs'd a great deal in a very few Words, and that maſculine cloſe Style always ſeems to be more harſh and ſtiff than one that is more diffuſe and irregular. However, 'tis certain that his Style is pure and correct, and that he was well acquainted with all the beauties of Language. His Thoughts were noble, and ſo were his Expreſſions. He never left a Subject till he had ſearch'd to the bottom of it: he view'd it in every light, and compar'd each Quality with its oppoſite, which naturally produc'd the Antitheſes that are objected to him. But Contraſts of this nature do not ſuit with every Subject, for they muſt ariſe from it. M. DE ST. EVREMOND knew the uſe of 'em well, and did not affect 'em.

Good

Good Judges are of opinion that his Poetry does not come up to the beauty of his Proſe: his Verſes, ſay they, want both turn and harmony, fire and vivacity. Yet there are ſeveral Pieces among his Poems, which are not inferior to the beſt performances of our moſt celebrated Poets; and where the poetick fire gives a new luſtre to the beauty of the thoughts. But he did not always judge of his Poetry as the Publick did, and thought that the ſeverity of Rules for the French Verſification had been ſtrain'd too high. Nor could he endure that the Thought ſhould be ſacrificed to Rhyme; and the energy of expreſſion to a fine cadence of words. "I own, *ſays a learned and judicious Critick*[1], "that there are in M. DE ST. EVRE-"MOND'S Poetry, ſome Expreſſions that ſa-"vour of Proſe; but I ſee no reaſon why we "ſhould not be allow'd to uſe them in French, "in that kind of irregular Verſes, when HO-"RACE took the ſame liberty in Latin in his "Satyrs, which he call'd *Sermones*, or Diſcour-"ſes, intimating that he deſign'd to write in "the Style commonly uſed in Converſation; "and even in his Epiſtles. As for inſipid, "mean, and falſe Thoughts, or a frigid Style, "theſe indeed deſerve no favour." One ſhall find in M. DE ST. EVREMOND'S Verſes, the ſame delicacy of Thought and ſtrength of Expreſſion, which are obſervable in his Proſe. We might diſcover in them a thouſand ingenious Turns of Wit and Satyr, if we had known the Perſons that are the Subject of them.

I ſhall inſiſt no longer upon this head, but proceed to the Edition of his WORKS.

M.

[1] Bibliotheque Choiſie, *Tom.* IX. *pag.* 332, 333.

M. DE ST. EVREMOND's Manuſcripts having been deliver'd into the hands of Doctor SILVESTRE, he thought himſelf thereby engag'd to publiſh them, with the Pieces already printed: but as he knew what I had already done towards that deſign, and as he wanted ſeveral Papers that I had by me, as well as the Corrections and Explanations which M. DE ST. EVREMOND gave me himſelf; he applied to my Lord GALLWAY, who deſir'd me to join with him in giving a compleat Edition of M. DE ST. EVREMOND's Works: to which I the more readily conſented, becauſe I had the advantage of knowing Dr. SILVESTRE.

M. DE ST. EVREMOND had loſt ſeveral of his Compoſitions. He told me, that before he came out of France, he had lent the Mareſchal DE TURENNE two Volumes of Manuſcripts, which he could never recover. When he went to Holland in 1665, he left his Papers in the cuſtody of his good Friend Mr. WALLER: but upon his return, he found that moſt of them were loſt, during the Plague that raged in London; and amongſt the reſt, above ſeven Chapters of the *Reflections on the different Genius of the Roman People*, which could never be recover'd [1]. He thought he had loſt likewiſe ſeveral Pieces, which were found ſince his

[1] *Some time after the printing of the firſt original Edition of M. de St. Evremond's Works, I deſired Mr. Waller's Son to look amongſt his Papers for ſome of M. de St. Evremond's Compoſitions: and, beſides ſome Pieces that had already been printed, he found part of the* Reflections on the different Genius of the Roman People, *written with M. de St. Evremond's own hand, and containing the* VIIIth *Chapter, immediately preceding thoſe that are loſt, and in which are ſeveral Reflections that appear between Crotchets, in this Engliſh Tranſlation, Vol.* I. *pag.* 103, *and* 106.

his Death, in the hands of ſome of his Friends. The Duke of St. ALBANS was pleas'd to communicate to us two Manuſcript Volumes he had from the Dutcheſs of MAZARIN. My Lord GODOLPHIN did us alſo the favour to lend us a Manuſcript Volume given him by M. DE ST. EVREMOND. Dr. LE FEVRE gave us ſeveral Pieces that were found among Madam MAZARIN's Papers: and we have bought three written Volumes from the Widow of M. DE ST. EVREMOND's Amanuenſis. Thus, we had ſeveral Pieces which he wanted himſelf; and ſometimes four Copies of the ſame Piece. We carefully collated them together; and always preferr'd the Copies he had reviſ'd to the other; and his laſt, to former Corrections. However, we did not think it proper to publiſh all the Pieces we had and ſhould have ſuppreſs'd many more, had it not been for reaſons I ſhall mention hereafter.

We have placed each Piece according to the order of time in which it was written: which Method has ſo many advantages, that 'tis matter of wonder it has not been follow'd by all Editors. For, the Works that have been written about the ſame time, being thus contiguous, are, as it were, a Comment to one another. Beſides as ſome of them may relate to things that are no longer in being, the Readers would be at a loſs, did they not know the period of time in which they were written. In ſhort, ſuch a Chronological Order gives us a kind of Hiſtory of the Author's Life, Humour, Sentiments, and Style. I own 'tis pretty difficult to obſerve ſuch a Method, when the ſeveral Pieces bear no date; and while I was writing theſe Memoirs, I took notice my ſelf that I had been guilty of ſome miſtakes:

miſtakes: and you will here find, that I have alter'd the poſition of ſome of the Pieces.

We have explain'd by Notes a vaſt number of Paſſages, which could not otherwiſe have been underſtood. No body, Sir, is more ſenſible than your ſelf of the neceſſity of commenting thus upon ſuch ingenious Compoſitions, where there are turns of Raillery and Satyr. They abound with Alluſions and Characters, of which one muſt have ſome idea, in order to read them with pleaſure, and to diſcover the beauties of 'em. Such, for inſtance, as were not acquainted with the Humour and Genius of MORIN, the famous Gameſter, and who never ſaw him play at the Dutcheſs of MAZARIN's, cannot be affected with what M. DE ST. EVREMOND has ſaid of him: they will loſe the fineſt and moſt delicate part of it, or it will appear cold and inſipid to them. But thoſe who knew him, are charm'd with the natural Character he has given of him, and the ingenious manner in which he banters him. We have endeavour'd to give the Reader this ſatisfaction in the Notes [1].

Theſe Explanations were ſometimes abſolutely neceſſary, to lead the Reader into M. DE ST. EVREMOND's Thoughts: of which here is an inſtance. M. DE ST. EVREMOND begins one of his Letters to Madam DE L'ENCLOS in this manner: *Your life, my Deareſt, has been too illuſtrious not to continue the ſame to the laſt. Let not the Duke* DE LA ROCHEFOUCAULT'S *Hell affright you! it was a ſtudied Hell, contrived only for a Maxim* [2]. *Speak therefore boldly the word* Love; *and let not that of*

[1] *See the* Works of M. de St. Evremond *in French.*

[2] *The Duke de la Rochefoucault is the Author of a very ingenious Book, intitled* Maxims *or* Moral Reflections.

Old Woman *ever come out of your mouth.* 'Tis no eaſy matter to apprehend the meaning of the *Duke de la Rochefoucauli's Hell*; which having oblig'd me to aſk it of M. DE ST. EVREMOND, he inform'd me, that the Duke DE LA ROCHEFOUCAULT talking one day with Madam DE L'ENCLOS, told her by way of banter, that *Old Age is the Hell of Women.* This Explanation fully clears the Paſſage before quoted: and yet ſee what a ſenſe has been put upon it in a ſort of Journal printed at Paris two years ago. The Author having mention'd the Death of M. DE ST. EVREMOND, and given an Encomium of his Works, ſpeaks of his Religion in this manner. " The Cenſure, *ſays* " *he*[1], he has undergone as to his ſentiments " about Religion, appears not to be altogether " ill grounded: if one unhappily falls on ſome " Places in his Works, or ſome of his Letters, " one ſhall find that his Belief ſometimes va- " ries, as to fundamental Points; but after all, " thoſe are Letters of Humour. What has " been publiſh'd of his, wherein he ſeems to " doubt the Immortality of the Soul, dropp'd " from him in the courſe of his Paſſions, and " in the enjoyment of Pleaſures: a man ſpeaks " then of things as he wiſhes them to be in rea- " lity: 'tis with this Indulgence we ought to " explain the Letter he wrote to Madam DE " L'ENCLOS, and which begins with theſe " words, that have made ſo much noiſe: *Let* " *not the Duke de la Rochefoucauli's Hell affright* " *you, Madam: 'Tis a ſtudied Hell.* When " he wrote this Letter, he was of ſuch an Age, " and in ſuch a courſe of Pleaſures, that his " Ex-

[1] Pieces fugitives d'Hiſtoire & de Litterature anciennes & modernes, *&c.* I. *Partie, pag.* 115, 116.

" Expreſſions ought to be conſidered as the re-
" ſult of the Vivacity and Gaiety of a Gentle-
" man too much wedded to the World, rather
" than as the Sentiments of a corrupt Heart.
" What's certain, is, that for one Paſſage in
" his Works that may bring the purity of his
" Sentiments into queſtion, there are a thouſand
" others, which convince us that his Heart was
" very ſound, and moſt ſubmiſſive to the Pre-
" cepts of Chriſtianity."

Now for want of knowing wherein M. DE LA ROCHEFOUCAULT's Jeſt lay, the whole Beauty of that Paſſage was loſt, and M. DE ST. EVREMOND was made to ſay what he never meant. There are ſeveral other Paſſages in his Works which needed a Comment, and I took all opportunities to get an explanation of them; but the Author's unexpected Death has left many things obſcure which will never be underſtood. Dr. LE FE'VRE, who for the ſpace of forty years was acquainted with M. DE ST. EVREMOND, has furniſh'd us with the Explanation of ſeveral Paſſages; and Dr. SILVESTRE has clear'd up others. Tho the end of theſe Notes is to illuſtrate M. DE ST. EVREMOND's Works, yet I have taken occaſion to interſperſe ſome curious Particulars which are not to be met with elſewhere. I could eaſily have ſwell'd them, if I had been inclin'd to make a pompous diſplay of my Learning: but I remember'd the judicious Satyr of CERVANTES [1], and it were to be wiſh'd that all our Commentators would improve by it.

Thus having given you the Plan we have purſued in the Edition of *M. de St. Evremond's*

[1] *See his* Prologue *to* Don Quixot.

mond's Works, nothing remains for me, but to anſwer an Objection that has been made to us concerning ſome of the Pieces we have publiſhed [1]. M. DE ST. EVREMOND, 'tis ſaid, compos'd ſeveral little Pieces, which ought to laſt no longer than the Mirth or Occaſion that produc'd them; thoſe Pieces cannot bear an Impreſſion: why was this Edition ſwell'd with them? Had it not been better to have choſen out thoſe in which the Publick is really concerned, and ſuch as are moſt worthy of Immortality?

But methinks they who make this Objection do not ſufficiently enter into the Nature of Works of this kind, nor conſider the Profit that may be reap'd by them. Thoſe ſmall Pieces of M. DE ST. EVREMOND, ſhew him to us in his natural dreſs, without ſtudy and without preparation. They diſcover to us his Friends of both Sexes, and give us a lively repreſentation of the Amuſements with which he enliven'd the Melancholy and Uneaſineſs inſeparable from old Age. 'Tis a view, in ſhort, of what paſſes in converſing with the World: and if the Antients had left us ſuch Writings, with what pleaſure ſhould we not have read them?

I own, nevertheleſs, that independently of all theſe Conſiderations, we were engag'd to publiſh them. *M. de St. Evremond's Works* having been printed here by Subſcription, ſeveral Perſons of Quality deſired, that ſuch Pieces as relate either to the Dutcheſs of MAZARIN, or other Perſons of their acquaintance, ſhould be publiſhed: and we could not

[1] *This relates properly to the French Edition of M. de St. Evremond's* Works.

not deny them that ſatisfaction. Nay, ſome take it amiſs that we have not printed more of them : ſo hard is it to pleaſe every body !

I ſhall think my ſelf happy, if the Reviſal I have made of theſe Memoirs ſatisfies your Curioſity. I intreat you, Sir, to look upon it as a mark of the Reſpect and Devotion with which I have the honour to be, Your, *&c.*

London, the 4th of November, 1706.

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ERRATA.

Vol. I. in the *Life of M. de St. Evremond*, p. cxxxiv. in the Notes, l. 3. theſe Words, *plainly proving it to be fabulous*, ſhou'd be in Roman. p. cl. l. 16. dele the reference after *Men.* p. clii. l. 25. for SYLVESTRE, r. SILVESTRE. In the *Works* p. 31. in the Note, l. 1. for *This is the Maxim*, r. *That is, the Maxim.* Vol. II. p. 279. l. 1. for *Idalater*, r. *Idolater.* p. 327. the *Letter to Count de Grammont*, ſhou'd have been placed p. 260. after the *Letter to Count d'Olonne.* p. 425. l. 17. for *to be a fooliſh*, r. *to be a fool*; or rather thus: *to doat, but to have ſo little time left for it.*

A particular care has been taken to make this Edition correct; and if there be any more Errors of the Preſs, 'tis hoped they don't interrupt the ſenſe, and the correction may be eaſily made by the Reader.

THE

THE WORKS OF MONSIEUR DE ST. EVREMOND.

The Duke of LONGUEVILLE'S *Retreat to his Government of Normandy* [1].

THE Duke of LONGUEVILLE entring the Old Palace, the first person he met with was Monsieur DE ST. LUC [2], who had been sent from St. Germains to the Marquis of HECTOT [3], to endeavour to bring him back to the Court-Interest. He said to him, with a joyful countenance: ST. LUC, *'Tis not long ago since I hated*

[1] *M. de St. Evremond wrote this ingenious Satir, to ridicule most of the Gentlemen of Normandy, who had declared against the Court. See the* Life of M. de St. Evremond, *under the Year* 1649.

[2] *He had been the King's Lieutenant-General in Guienne, under the Duke of Epernon.*

[3] *Son to the Marquis of Benvron.*

hated you heartily; *and I*, my Lord, replied ST. LUC, *hate you no leſs now, than you did me at that time. If I had not been impoſed upon, you would not have been here*; *and if you had not been firſt impos'd upon, I ſhould not have been ſuffer'd to be here.*

This ſhort Converſation being over, the Duke of LONGUEVILLE ſhew'd an inclination to go to the Parliament, which met in order to conſider whether they ought to admit him. Some of his friends oppos'd it, alledging, That he thereby expoſed himſelf, and the whole fortune of his Party: whereupon they caus'd ſome perſons to go to the top of a high Tower, in order to obſerve the countenance of the people; and upon their report, that they heard Huzza's on all ſides, the Duke went out immediately, attended with thoſe that had followed him, and repair'd to the Palace, being receiv'd every where with repeated acclamations.

He ſurprized the Gentlemen of the Parliament, who did not expect ſo ſudden an adventure; and having taken his ſeat, he ſpoke to them in theſe words: *Having ever had a great reſpect and affection for you, I am come hither, notwithſtanding the hazard to which a man of my quality may expoſe himſelf, to offer you my life and fortune for your preſervation. I know, that moſt Governors do not follow this method*; *and that after they have got from you all the ſervice they can in peaceable times, they abandon you as ſoon as they ſee you in danger. For my own part, as I have a thouſand obligations to you, ſo I deſign to take this opportunity to acknowledge them: and, both as a Governor, and as one ſenſibly obliged to you, I come to do you all the ſervice that lies in my power, in ſo perillous a conjuncture.*

The firſt Preſident [a] returning no Anſwer to this

[a] *M. Faucon de Ris, deſcended from an Italian Family.*

this Speech, but rather ſhewing, by his melancholy looks, how much he was concern'd at the Duke's preſence, all the other gentlemen gave him demonſtrations of joy, which were animated by the mouth of a Counſellor of the Great Chamber, named DU MESNIL-COSTÉ, who made him this fine compliment: "Moſt gracious Prince, The "ſame difference that is between the Wolf and the "Shepherd, is found, on this occaſion, between "Count DE HARCOURT and your Highneſs. "Count DE HARCOURT is come, whether as "a Wolf, or as a Lion, yet ſtill as a ravenous "beaſt, to devour us. We would not open our "doors to him, leſt we ſhould receive an enemy "into our bowels; and all the favour we have "ſhewn him, was to ſuffer him to go round our "walls; which he has done, caſting upon us an "eye ſparkling with wrath, *tanquam Leo rugiens:* "as for you, great Prince, you are come like a "true Shepherd, to ſecure your whole Flock; "*bonus paſtor ponit animam pro ovibus ſuis.* There's "no doubt but you'll do the ſame; *atque ideo,* "My Lord, we commit to you the guard of "this City, and the ſafety of the whole Province: "'tis your part to watch for our preſervation, "and ours to ſecond your care with all the aſ- "ſiſtance that ſhall lie in our power."

This Speech being ended, the Duke of LONGUEVILLE roſe; and having ſaluted every particular Member with his uſual affability, he went out of the Palace, accompanied by his friends, and follow'd by the populace, with their repeated acclamations.

The Gentlemen of the Parliament, reflecting on the joy the Citizens had ſhewn at the ſight of their Governor, began to be apprehenſive of an abſolute ſlavery; to prevent which misfortune, they reſolv'd to make their own terms with him.

But whether the Duke of LONGUEVILLE foreſaw their intention; or elſe in order to ſettle a perfect confidence with them, he thought fitting to prevent them, and aſſure them, that they ſhould ever have the diſpoſal of all. He told them, "That "the affairs in queſtion, did properly concern the "Parliament, and not himſelf; that he neither "deſign'd, nor ought to have any other employ- "ment, than that of leading an Army for the "welfare of the State, and their particular ſer- "vice: that all the levies ſhould be made by "their orders; that they themſelves ſhould ap- "point Commiſſioners, out of their own body, "both for the receit and payment of the Mo- "ney; and, in ſhort, that as they were prin- "cipally concern'd in the ſucceſs of this affair, "it was but reaſonable they ſhould be privy to all "the Councils."

Thoſe Gentlemen return'd him thanks for the honour he did them; aſſur'd him they would make as many Ordinances as he ſhould deſire, without examining any thing; that, being the Kings Guardians, they would, at his pleaſure, diſpoſe of their Pupil's Eſtate; and that they would run all hazards to ſerve him, provided he would ſuppreſs the Long-Vacation [5], and reſtore the Aſſembly to their ancient Privileges. The Firſt Preſident, and Advocate-General, finding themſelves unable to ſerve the King, went to St. Germains to give him an account of it.

In the mean time, the Duke of LONGUEVILLE, having ſecur'd the People and Parliament, bent all his thoughts on the raiſing of forces. But having yet no funds, he reſolv'd, however, to diſpoſe of Employments, in order to entertain every body

[5] *The French ſays* Semeſtre, *which ſignifies a Committee of the Parliament, that ſits during the Long-Vacation.*

body with hopes; and began to prepare for the eſtabliſhment of an Army, which was then but imaginary. The moſt eminent Perſons being aſſembled, " he return'd them thanks for the ardour " they ſhew'd in his ſervice: adding, That for " his own part, he would ever acknowledge the " affection of thoſe who follow'd his fortune; " and that he was ready to entruſt them with the " moſt important Employments, till he could have " a proper opportunity to gratify them with more " ſubſtantial favours."

At theſe fine words, thoſe illuſtrious perſons made profound bows. A moment after, nothing was heard but compliments, which inſenſibly advanc'd to aſſurances of fidelity, and proteſtations of their readineſs to ſpill the laſt drop of their blood. This was attended with ſeveral fine ſpeeches on the preſent ſtate of affairs; and ſome of them, animated with zeal for their party, offer'd this material advice: *Why*, ſaid they, *do not we ſtrike the iron whilſt 'tis hot? You have, my Lord, abundance of Nobility and Gentry with you; and great numbers of young men in the City: You may make up a body of Gentlemen; a body of their Valets-de-Chambre, to whom you may join the Cinquantaine*[6], *and the Archers; two great battalions of the moſt ſubſtantial Burghers; and with theſe troops go and ſurprize the King at St. Germains. Yes*, anſwer'd the Duke of LONGUEVILLE, *this may be adviſeable: but it being our chief enterprize, we muſt be careful to take right meaſures to carry it on: we ſhall debate it in the firſt Council. In the mean time, to avoid confuſion, which uſually ruins all Parties, we muſt diſpoſe of Employments, that every one may know his poſt.*

[6] *A particular Troop of the Archers, or City-Militia.*

VARICARVILLE, ſo highly reſpected by the Free-thinkers, would accept of no employment: having learnt of his Rabbi, that in order to underſtand the Old Teſtament perfectly well, a man muſt apply himſelf to nothing elſe, and even reduce himſelf to an Herb-diet [7], to keep his head free from all groſs vapours. Nevertheleſs, the averſion he had againſt the Favourites, not permitting him to be idle on ſuch occaſions, he deſired to be Superintendant in civil matters, and to ſettle all things according to the Prince of ORANGE's Memoirs: but as ill luck would have it, he had left behind him, at Paris, a Manuſcript of Count MAURICE, which might have been of great uſe to him for the Artillery and Proviſions; which, in all probability, was the reaſon, that there was neither ammunition nor bread in that Army.

SAINT-IBAL put in for the honour of bringing the Enemy into France: but he was anſwer'd, that the Generals of Paris reſerv'd it to themſelves. He then deſir'd a full-power to treat with the Poles, Tartars and Muſcovites, and the ſole management of chimerical projects; which was granted him.

Count DE FIESQUE, fruitful in military chimera's, beſides the poſt of Lieutenant-General, which he had at Paris, obtain'd a particular commiſſion for the beating up of Quarters, and other raſh and ſudden exploits, which may be reſolv'd upon whilſt one is ſinging an air of LA BARRE [8], or dancing a minuet.

The Marquis DE BEUVRON was made a Lieutenant-General, on condition that he ſhould remain in the Old Palace; that place, and the government,

[7] *Varicarville had with him a Jewiſh Rabbi, who ſuffer'd him to eat nothing but Herbs.*

[8] *A famous Muſician of thoſe days.*

ment, being both of ſo great importance, that too much care could not be beſtow'd on their preſervation.

The Marquis DE MATIGNON, ever illuſtrious by his vanity, and now famous for the memorable ſiege of Vallogne, commanded the Troops of Cotantin, ſaying, He had a mind to have the little Army under him, and be as independent on the Duke of LONGUEVILLE, as General WALSTEIN was on the Emperor.

The Marquis DE HECTOT deſir'd the Command of the Horſe, which was granted him, becauſe he was better mounted than the reſt; he was about the ſame age with Monſieur DE NEMOURS, when he commanded the Cavalry in Flanders; and had an embroider'd coat exactly like his.

AUSONVILLE was pitch'd upon to be Governor of Rouen, as a man civilly skill'd in war, and as able to make military Harangues to the People, as PLESSIS-BESANÇON. The Governor was made Major-General, that he might not obey others; and the Major-General, Governor, that he might not be oblig'd to quit the city: for, 'twas one of his maxims, *That he ought not to go out, upon any account whatſoever*; and he alledg'd the example of ſeveral conſiderable Towns, that had been loſt thro' the abſence of their Governors.

HANERIE and CAUMENIL deſir'd to be made Major-Generals: HANERIE, becauſe he had been like to be made Enſign to the King's Genſdarmes; and CAUMENIL, becauſe he was within an ace of being made Colonel of Monſieur's [9] Regiment.

BOUCAULE could not pretend that he ever ſaw an Army; but he alledg'd, that he had been a hunter all his life-time, and that *Hunting being a*

[9] *The Duke of Orleans.*

Picture of War, according to MACHIAVEL [10], forty years ſpent in Hunting were, at leaſt, equivalent to twenty Campaigns; wherefore he deſir'd to be made a Major-General, which was done accordingly.

FLAVACOURT ſaid, That to be a good Captain, a man muſt have ſeen Armies routed, as well as victorious; as BARRIERE [11] had read in the Duke of ROHAN's Book [12]: which being laid down as a maxim, he pretended that no man could contend with him for the advantage of his own Experience, every body ſtill remembring the diſorder he was in, when D'ESTAUGES was taken priſoner [13].

They had a mind to beſtow the Command of the Ordnance on ST. EVREMOND; and to ſpeak the truth, as he ſtood affected for St. Germains [14], he could have wiſh'd to ſerve the Court, by accepting a conſiderable employment, in which he had no manner of skill. But having promis'd Count DE HARCOURT not to ſerve at all, he kept his word with him; both out of a principle of honour, and not to be like the Normans, moſt of whom had broke their promiſe. Upon theſe conſiderations, he generouſly refus'd the money that was

[10] Queſta prattica, ò vero queſta particolare cognitione (*de' ſiti & de' Paeſi*) s'acquiſta più mediante le Caccie, che per verun' altro eſſercito. Però gli Antichi Scrittori dicono che quelli Heroi, che governarono nel loro tempo il Mondo, ſi nutrirono nelle Selve & nelle Caccie: Perche la Caccie, oltre a queſta cognitione, li inſegna infinite coſe che ſono nella Guerra neceſſarie..... Queſto ſi dice per moſtrare, come le Caccie, ſecondo che Senophonte appruova, ſono una Imagine della Guerra. Nic. Machiavelli, *Diſcorſi ſupra la prima Deca de T. Livio, Lib.* III. *Cap.* 39.

[11] *His Brother in Law.*

[12] *Entitled*, Le Parfait Capitaine, ou l'Abregé des Guerres des Commentaires de Ceſar, *&c.*

[13] *In the War of Paris.*

[14] *The King was then at that Place.*

was offer'd, but which would never have been given him.

CAMPION did not put in for any great employment; and only desir'd to be made Mareschal of Battalia, in order to learn the trade of War, ingenuously owning he was a stranger to it; but pretending to know the Country, even to the smallest rivulets, and the most inconsiderable passages: which science he had learned when he went a hunting with the Duke of VENDOSME.

SEVIGNY was contented with the same employment; but found he was a bubble to his own modesty, when he saw, that there was no skill requir'd to be a Major-General. However, he set up also for a droll, and had the honour to make his Highness laugh.

RUCQUEVILLE, that old servant, would not take any employment; and his long experience in war remain'd useless, under pretence of his vapours. The Duke of LONGUEVILLE, to soften his disgust for not being made Governour of Caen, augmented his pensions: but all in vain; RUCQUEVILLE saying openly, That he would, indeed, take his Master's money, but could never forbear speaking ill of him.

FRANQUETOT-BARBEROUSSE was a long while before he chose his side: BONCOEUR [15] keeping up his irresolution by the friendship of the Mareschal DE GRAMMONT. However, during his long deliberation, he insensibly set up for a *Doer of good Offices*, delighting himself with the vanity of a false credit. Afterwards, being inform'd by letters from his friends, that peace was seriously negotiating, he determin'd to act no longer a neutral part. He read CÆSAR's *Commentaries*, to fortify his mind, which was not yet fully resolv'd. When

[15] *So his Wife was called.*

When he came to the Paſſage of the Rubicon, he ſtopt ſhort, as that great Captain had done; and having muſed awhile upon the matter, he cry'd out, like him, *The Rubicon is paſs'd, a lucky caſt may win all* [16]. He thereupon goes out in a great emotion, without looking either upon BONCOEUR or little HARRY [17], well knowing, that the ſight of women and children may ſoften the fierceſt ſpirits; and without acquainting any of his friends, he goes to the Duke of LONGUEVILLE, and ſpeaks to him in the following manner: "My "Lord, I ever was your ſervant, tho not with ſo "particular a devotion, as to be thereby oblig'd to "ſerve you on this occaſion: but now I deſign to "embrace your intereſt, and am come to aſſure "your Highneſs, that I entirely devote my ſelf to "you."

The Duke's joy was ſo great that it appear'd in his countenance; but it was much leſſen'd, when BARBEROUSSE had explain'd himſelf thus: "I "muſt join one condition to my general declara-"tion, which is, that I deſign to continue here, "when you go into the field; which, however, "cannot be aſcribed to want of courage, but to an "unlucky ſtrangury, which hinders me from "riding. Not that I deſign to be uſeleſs in the "Party neither: I will negotiate with Madam DE "MATIGNON, for whom I ever entertain'd an "affection; and beſides, as you have no body "here that can write Relations, I ſhall take care "to publiſh your atchievements." Theſe laſt words were a great comfort to the Prince: for to ſpeak the truth, they had great occaſion for a Gazetteer,

[16] Conſecutuſque (*Cæſar*) cohortes ad Rubiconem flumen, qui provinciæ ejus finis erat . . . . . *eatur*, inquit, *quo deorum oſtenta, & inimicorum iniquitas vocat: Jacta alea eſt.* Suetonius in Julio Cæſare, cap. 31, 32.

[17] *Son to Franquetot.*

Gazetteer, and he was glad to find ſo ſkilful a Narrator.

FONTRAILLES came in the nick of time to ſee the great affair of la Bouille [18]. During his ſtay in Normandy, the Duke of LONGUEVILLE made him privy to all his counſels, as he did VARICARVILLE and Count DE FIESQUE: but FONTRAILLES could not reliſh ſuch a confidence, being apprehenſive of engaging himſelf too far in the Prince's intereſt, and of being intruſted with the ſecret of a ſecond enterprize againſt Pontoiſe. So juſt an apprehenſion oblig'd him to quit the party, and to carry Count DE FIESQUE away with him; repreſenting to him, that conſidering how they govern'd their General, all the diſorders that might happen would be charged upon them, if things were carried to extremity.

The Duke DE RETZ, from whom they expected great Supplies, came attended only by a Page, who carried his arms, and his two truſty Squires [19]. Some found fault with his coming without Troops; but they were ſoon ſatisfy'd, when he ſhew'd 'em a long liſt of the Barons who deſired to be employ'd. For two hundred thouſand Crowns, he might have engaged the Bretons to take the field; but for want of that ſmall ſum, the credit of ſo great a Lord remain'd altogether uſeleſs. 'Tis true, he promiſed not to ſpare his own perſon, and to ſerve as a Duke and Peer in the Army of Rouen, with the ſame aſſiduity as he had ſerved in Flanders;

[18] *M. de St. Evremond going to Rouen during this War, met the Duke of Longueville at la Bouille, (a Village within three leagues of that City) with his little Army; gave him notice of the approach of the King's Troops, and thereby an opportunity to ſave his own. See the* Life of M. de St. Evremond, *under the year* 1649.

[19] *When he was in Flanders, he had always two Gentlemen of the Horſe by his ſides, and a Page that carried his Arms.*

ders. He assured them besides, that MONTPLAISIR would soon join them; and even gave them some hopes of the *Tapinois* [20].

As for the rest, Belle-Isle was in a very good posture of defence; there was a garison at Machecoul; and Montmirel was well guarded. The Duke's way of living with the Officers was very obliging: and whoever was so happy as to have a buff-coat, or a black velvet jacket, might depend upon his friendship.

Thus you see the different Employments of the most considerable persons of the party. If any body wonders that I say nothing of their Actions, 'tis because I know nothing of 'em: for as I relate truth with the utmost exactness, so I mention nothing but what I saw. In the mean time, I account my self happy that I got an aversion to such commotions, rather by observation, than by my own experience. 'Tis a trade for fools and desperado's, which men of sense and honour, and such as are well to pass, ought not to meddle with.

Bubbles come in daily by companies; the outlaw'd and the needy repair thither from all parts; and there never was so much talk of generosity without honour; never so many fine speeches with so little sense; never so many designs without action; or undertakings without effects: in short, 'tis all fancy, all chimera; nothing substantial, nothing real, besides want and misery. Hence it is, that private men complain of the great ones, who deceive them; and the great ones of private men, who abandon them. Fools are undeceived by

[20] *So was Monsieur d'Aubeterre nick-named: because when he was in the army, he often stole away from his company to go to the trenches, and other places of danger; from whence he sometimes returned wounded, to the great surprize of his Friends, who did not expect any such thing.*

by experience, and draw off; men of deſperate fortunes, who ſee no alteration in their condition, go and ſeek elſewhere ſome other unlucky adventure: being no leſs diſguſted with the leading men of the party, than with the favourites.

A LETTER

To MADAM ***.

I Remember, Madam, that when I went to the army, I begg'd that the Chevalier DE GRAMMONT might ſucceed me in your favour, in caſe I ſhould be ſo unfortunate as to meet my death there; in which particular, you have ſo well obey'd, that you love him whilſt I am alive, to learn to do it better after my death. You are very punctual in obeying my orders; and ſhould I continue to give you the ſame commiſſion, in all appearance, you would ſee it carefully executed.

You may imagine, Madam, that I deſign to hide a real grief under a pretended banter; and being ſo well acquainted with my paſſion, you cannot eaſily perſuade your ſelf, that I can ſuffer a Rival without jealouſy. But perhaps you don't know, Madam, that if I dare not complain of you, becauſe I love you too much; I dare not complain of him, becauſe I love him little leſs. And if I muſt of neceſſity be angry, tell me whom I am to be moſt angry with; either with him who goes to rob me of my Miſtreſs, or you who ſteal my Friend from me.

Let the matter be how it will, you need not give your ſelf much trouble to appeaſe my indignation. My paſſion is too violent to indulge my reſentment in the leaſt; and my tenderneſs will

always make me forget the injuries I have received from you. I love you, tho perfidious; I love him, tho treacherous; and only fear that a ſincere friend is no favourite of either of you. Farewel. Let us enter, I beſeech you, into a new unknown ſort of confederacy; and by a ſtrange myſtery, let his, let your, and my friendſhip, be only one and the ſame thing.

A LETTER

To the ſame.

I Thought you had utterly forgot me; but by a more refined and ingenious conduct, you treat me as if you juſt began to know me.

In truth, I never ſaw ſuch a civil Letter in my life, and at the ſame time ſo very little obliging as yours. You have hit upon ſo nice, ſo delicate an indifference, that I cannot complain of you without regret, nor commend you without the juſt imputation of ſillineſs. *Generoſity*, *Gratitude*, *Obligation*, are common expreſſions in your Letter. It ſeems you have, for my ſake, been at the expence of learning all the terms that have been uſed in compliments, and have forgotten all thoſe that expreſs any ſentiment of love. It muſt be confeſs'd, Madam, that you imitate your Mother's ſtyle perfectly well. At firſt ſight, I thought I had receiv'd a token of her Ladyſhip's remembrance. Beſides this, Madam, that doleful jargon of being overwhelm'd *with Misfortunes*, does not at all become you; but ſeems to proceed from a perſon that labours under a myſterious diſcompoſure.

As

As for your ſelf, who never acted the ſham-mourner, how came you to pitch upon me, a-God's name, to tell your doleful ſtory, and entertain me with the ſhew of ſuch noble misfortunes? Am I then good for nothing in the world, but to be the confident of your affected melancholy, and ſtudied ſorrow?

As it is impoſſible for you, Madam, to become indifferent to me, I was aſking M *** after you, who told me that you danced from morning till night, and that one could not paſs the time more merrily than you did.

Adieu, *miſerable Perſon*, overwhelm'd with a long train of *Misfortunes*, full of *Gratitude* and Acknowledgment to thoſe who *take any part* in your *Miſeries*. Adieu, more tenderly, a thouſand times, than you write civilly to me. I conjure you to believe that you have not civility enough to diſcourage me; and that I would rather chuſe to be, all my life-time, the confident of your ſorrow, than to have nothing at all to do with you.

A LETTER

To MADAM ***.

YOU are upon the point of making a very ſorry Gallant of a very good Friend; and I perceive that what I call'd ſatisfaction, when I was with you, is now become inſenſibly ſome ſort of a charm. I talk no more of *turning into ridicule*; and the very ſame perſon who ſet ſuch a value upon your malicious fancies, now diſcovers in you more affecting qualities, which give him a diſguſt for your firſt endearments.

You

You always appear'd very engaging to me; but now I begin to feel with emotion, what I was uſed to ſee only with pleaſure. To ſpeak plainly to you, I am afraid I may be in love with you, if you will ſuffer me to love you: for at this preſent writing, I am in ſuch a condition, that I can let it alone, if you don't like it.

You muſt not expect from me any fine thoughts, or noble raptures: I am wholly incapable of them, and freely leave them to the admirers of Madam C***. Let the drawing-rooms make the moſt on't. Permit Madam DE *** to define Love by her own fancy; and don't envy the vain imaginations of thoſe miſerable creatures, who when their beauty is decay'd, value themſelves upon the wit that ſtill continues with them, at the expence of the Face they have loſt.

Finding me ſo clowniſh in the contempt of refined ſentiments, you'll imagine, perhaps, that I am a Hero as to the exerciſes of the body: pray hearken how the caſe ſtands with me. I am indifferent in every thing; and neither nature nor fortune have done any thing for me but what is common.

As I cannot ſee without envy thoſe people that are ſumptuous and magnificent in their expences; ſo I cannot, without ſome diſpleaſure, behold thoſe that are too much given to their pleaſures: and if I dare ſpeak my thoughts, I hate in ſome meaſure, the VIVONNES and the SAUCOURS, becauſe I cannot reſemble them.

My affairs go always at the ſame rate: I never allow my ſelf any extravagance; and I ſtand in need of a little œconomy to make things even at the year's end, and paſs a winter's night.

Not

Not that I am reduced either to want or infirmity: but to explain my ſelf frankly, my expence is ſmall, and my efforts indifferent.

Tell me now whether with theſe qualities I may preſume to ſet up for your Lover, or whether I am ſtill to continue your Friend?

As for my ſelf, I am reſolv'd to take what part you aſſign me; and if I paſs from Friendſhip to Love without difficulty; I am able to return from Love to Friendſhip, with as little violence.

The Character of the Counteſs D'OLONNE [1].

I Don't expect to be more ſucceſsful in your Character, than our Painters have been in your Picture, where I may ſafely ſay, the beſt performers have loſt their reputation. Hitherto we never beheld any Beauties ſo accompliſh'd, but they were oblig'd to theſe maſters, either for beſtowing ſome new graces upon them, or elſe for concealing ſome of their defects. You alone, Madam, are above thoſe arts, whoſe peculiar character it is to flatter and embelliſh. They never took the pencil to draw your Face, without a ſhameful foil of their ſkill, and doing an infinite injuſtice to the original; in ſhort, without making ſo accompliſh'd a perſon, as your ſelf, loſe as many advantages as they uſually beſtow upon thoſe that don't poſſeſs them.

If you are not much oblig'd to the Painters, you are much leſs, I'm ſure, to the curioſity of

[1] *Catherine Henrietta d'Angennes, Counteſs d'Olonne, was Daughter to Charles d'Angennes, Lord of La Loupe, Baron of Limberville, by Mary du Raynier.*

your dreſs. You owe nothing either to the ſkill of other people, or to your own induſtry; and may ſafely rely upon Nature for the care ſhe has taken of you. As there are few perſons, upon whom negligence ſits well, I would adviſe them not to depend too much upon it.

To ſay the truth, the generality of our Ladies are no farther agreeable than their attire makes them ſo. Every ornament they put on to ſet them off, conceals ſome defect: but every thing that's taken from your dreſs, reſtores you ſome grace or other; and 'tis as much your intereſt to return to the primitive ſimplicity of nature, as it is for their advantage to avoid it.

I will not amuſe my ſelf with any general praiſes, that are many ages old. The *Sun* ſhall not furniſh me with a compariſon for your Eyes, nor the *Flowers* for your Complexion. I might ſpeak of the regularity of your Face, and delicacy of your Features; of that charming and agreeable Mouth; of that Neck ſo well turn'd and poliſh'd; of thoſe bewitching Breaſts: but after a man has made the moſt curious obſervations, there are a thouſand things may be thought of in you, which cannot be well deſcrib'd; and a thouſand things better felt than thought of.

Take my advice, Madam; don't truſt the care of your glory with any other perſon; for certainly you are no where ſo well as you are in your ſelf. Appear in the midſt of your Pictures and Characters, and you will eclipſe all the images that 'tis poſſible to frame of you.

After having well admir'd you, what I find the moſt extraordinary is, that you have collected, in your ſelf, the ſeveral Charms of different Beauties. You are miſtreſs of thoſe Graces that ſurprize, that pleaſe, that flatter, and affect us.

Your

Your Character, properly ſpeaking, is not a particular character; 'tis that of all the Fair. One man maintains his heart againſt an imperious, that ſuffer'd himſelf to be conquer'd by a delicate Beauty. Delicacy gives diſguſt to another, who willingly ſurrenders his heart to an imperious miſtreſs.

You alone are the foible of all the world. The fiery Lover finds in you an unexhauſtible ſubject for his Raptures: tender Souls find all that is proper to feed their tenderneſs and their languiſhings. Different Tempers, various Humours, contrary Inclinations, all are ſubject to your empire.

Thoſe perſons that were born neither to give nor receive Love, preſerve the firſt of theſe qualities, and unhappily loſe the other. From hence it proceeds, that there is ſome reſemblance between the warmth of your Friends, and the paſſion of your Lovers; that 'tis impoſſible to admire you without a concern; and that the judgment of the moſt indifferent ſpectators is never free. From hence, in ſhort, it proceeds, that every one loves in your company, except your ſelf alone, who continue inſenſible.

Thus far I have paid part of what I owe to your Beauty; and 'tis none of your leaſt commendations, that I have been able to praiſe you ſo long. 'Tis but juſt I ſhould have ſome conſideration of my ſelf now; and that in ſpeaking of your Wit and Humour, I ſhould be allow'd to indulge my own.

I will deliver nothing but truths: and leſt you ſhould imagine them to be diſadvantageous to you, I will begin with the Charms of your Converſation, which are not at all inferior to thoſe of your Face.

Yes, Madam, we are no leſs affected with hearing, than with ſeeing you. You may inſpire Love, even when you are veil'd; and make France reſemble Spain, in being the ſcene of Adventures of *the fair Inviſible.*

Never was more politeneſs, than we find in your Diſcourſe; and, what is ſurprizing, nothing can be ſo lively, and yet ſo juſt; ſo happy, and yet ſo well conceiv'd.

But let us conclude praiſes, which, when they are too long, never fail to be tireſome, tho they are never ſo true: and now, Madam, prepare to hear with patience what I found amiſs in you. If you cannot without difficulty hear your Defects, I am ſure I could not without a greater difficulty diſcover them. I was oblig'd to make very profound enquiries, and after a long and painful ſtudy, I will tell you what faults I have taken notice of.

I have often ſeen you too reſpectful and condeſcending to ordinary perſons; and while this humour laſted, ſubmit your Judgment to that of many others, which was much inferior to yours.

I am likewiſe of opinion, that you ſuffer your ſelf to be too much ſway'd by Cuſtom. That which at firſt ſight you rightly judg'd to be groſs and dull, has, after a ſhort time, appear'd juſt and delicate without reaſon; and when you come to rectify theſe errors, 'tis rather by a change of your humour, than by any reflections of your mind.

Sometimes, Madam, you fall into the contrary defect, and by thinking too much, overlook the Truth; ſo that your opinions are rather more ſtrongly imagin'd, than ſolidly conceiv'd.

As for your Actions, they are equally innocent and agreeable: but as you may very well neglect thoſe formalities, that are, in truth, but ſo

many fetters of life, you muſt expect the cenſure of fools, and the ill-nature of thoſe people whom your merit has made your enemies.

Thoſe Ladies who are your profeſs'd enemies, are forc'd to own to us, that you have receiv'd a thouſand advantages from nature. But upon ſome occaſions we are oblig'd to own to them, that they might be better manag'd, and that you don't always make ſo good uſe of them as others would do.

I ſhall end all with the inequality of your Temper, which you your ſelf now and then deſcribe ſo pleaſantly; 'tis vexatious to thoſe that ſuffer under it: as for me, I always find that it quickens my paſſion; and I ſee, that when we moſt complain of any one's humour, 'tis then we are moſt affected with the perſon. However it is, we are ſo far from being able to take any advantage over you, that we are at a loſs what meaſures to take with you. We eaſily diſoblige you without thinking of it; nay, the very deſign to pleaſe you, has more than once made us ſo unfortunate as to diſpleaſe you. Believe me, Madam, a man muſt be very happy to find out your eaſy moments, and very critical to enjoy them. What we may truly ſay, after we have well examin'd you, is, that no greater misfortune can befal a man, than to be in love with you, yet nothing ſo difficult as to avoid it.

Theſe, Madam, are the obſervations of a ſpectator, who, to judge the more impartially of you, has endeavour'd to keep himſelf free. The method he took to continue ſo, was to ſhun you as much as was poſſible for him. But 'tis not enough for one not to ſee you, after he has once beheld you; and this remedy, which as to other women is infallible, does not entirely ſecure us with you.

Perhaps you will tell me, that a man who has any tender ſentiments, is not generally ſo rigid in his Judgment. But ſo ſoon as you will take the pains to let me know what you diſlike, I will immediately retract what I have ſaid. 'Tis impoſſible to think diſadvantageouſly of you, but in your abſence; for to repeat what I have already told you, *Do but appear, Madam, in the midſt of your Pictures and Characters, and you will ſoon eclipſe all the images the moſt fruitful fancy can form of you.*

A LETTER

To the Counteſs D'OLONNE, *ſent with the foregoing* Character.

I Send you herewith your Character, which tells you the general ſentiments of the world concerning you; and will inform you, that there is nothing ſo beautiful in all France as your ſelf. Don't be ſo rigorous to your own merits, as to deny your ſelf that juſtice which all the world pays you. Moſt of our Ladies ſuffer themſelves to be eaſily perſuaded, and entertain flattering errors with pleaſure; and it would be very ſtrange, indeed, if you could not be prevail'd upon to believe a pleaſing truth.

Beſides the publick opinion, you have the judgment of Madam DE LONGUEVILLE on your ſide. Submit to ſo authentick a teſtimony, without farther ſcruple; and ſince ſhe believes it, believe your ſelf to be the moſt charming creature that was ever beheld.

From

From your beauty, Madam, I paſs to the miſchiefs it has occaſion'd, and to the infinite numbers of thoſe that daily languiſh and die for you. 'Tis not my deſign to render you compaſſionate; on the contrary, if you would follow my advice, it ſhall coſt one or other of your unfortunate Admirers his life. Our Poets and Romance-mongers have too long banter'd us with feign'd deaths; I demand a true one of you, which will be an undiſputable title to your perfections. Among five or ſix languiſhing perſons, of my acquaintance, chuſe whom you pleaſe to honour with your laſt rigours: and you'll eaſily lead him from languiſhment to death. Diſpatch him quickly for your own ſatisfaction, and that of,

Madam,

Your, *&c.*

A LETTER

To MADAM ***

HOW violent ſoever my friendſhip is, it has left me judgment enough to write to you with leſs paſſion and concern than I us'd to do. And to tell you the truth, I am ſomewhat aſham'd to ſend you Country-ſighs, which have neither the ſweetneſs, nor delicacy of thoſe you hear. But let them be what they will, I muſt of neceſſity venture them; and endeavour to make you remember me, at a time when all the world labours to have me forgotten.

I don't queſtion but that the interview of your pious Mother, and the reſt of your godly family, was attended with abundance of tears: to be ſure, to ſuch a Mother's tears, you paid a civil and reſpectful return, like a well-bred Daughter. But then you know the world too well, to have any real tenderneſs for the diſquiet of thoſe Prudes, whoſe virtue is nothing elſe but a mere artifice, to deprive you of thoſe pleaſures which themſelves regret.

'Tis enough that you ſhew'd once your obedience, and ſacrific'd your repoſe to a complaiſance, which, perhaps, you did not owe her. She is unjuſt, if, after ſhe has exacted ſo ſevere a ſubmiſſion from you, ſhe pretends to regulate your inclinations, and conſtrain the only thing ſhe has left in your power.

We love that which pleaſes, and not what is barely permitted to us: but if you muſt ask leave of your Parents before you love, I am ſo well acquainted with their humour, that I dare aſſure you, you'll have but little occaſion to be acquainted with that paſſion, ſo long as you live.

But perhaps this diſcourſe may be altogether uſeleſs; and conſidering your preſent circumſtances, I ought rather to be apprehenſive of thoſe perſons who adviſe you to love, than thoſe who forbid it. Perhaps you may follow the advice I give you, and laugh at the reprimands of your Mother. How do I know but that this poor Mother of yours, to whom I wiſh ſo much miſchief, may be in my intereſts; and that to ſtifle a growing paſſion in its birth, ſhe does not allow you the liberty to love a perſon ſo remote from you?

Hitherto I have had all the reaſon in the world to commend your conſtancy and reſolution; but I doubt whether a mere idea will be able to diſpute it long againſt a face, and memory againſt converſ-

converſation. I have too great an uneaſineſs upon me, to leave any longer the advantage of being preſent with you, to thoſe Gentlemen that behold you; and within a few days, no manner of buſineſs ſhall hinder me from throwing my ſelf at your feet. In the mean time, till I come to entertain you with my paſſion, remember how many thouſand Oaths you have ſworn, to love me as long as you live.

A LETTER

To MADAM***.

AS nothing is ſo honourable as an antient Friendſhip, ſo nothing is ſo ſcandalous as an old Paſſion. Undeceive your ſelf, Madam, of the falſe merit of being faithful; and take it for a certain truth, that nothing is ſo injurious to the reputation of a Beauty, as Conſtancy. Who knows whether you reſolv'd to love but one perſon, or whether you could get but one Lover? You fondly imagine that you practiſe a Virtue, while you make us ſuſpect that you have many Defects.

But conſider how many diſquiets attend this wretched Virtue; and what a vaſt difference there is between the diſguſts of an old engagement, and the endearments of a growing Paſſion! In a new Amour you will find delights in every hour of the day: 'tis an unexpreſſible pleaſure to find that Love grows upon us every minute: but in a paſſion of an old ſtanding, our time lingers very uneaſily,

eaſily, in ſtill loving leſs. We may converſe well enough with perſons that are indifferent to us, either out of decency and good manners, or thro' a neceſſary obligation: but how can we paſs our Lives with thoſe we have loved, when we love them no longer?

I have only four words more to ſay to you, and I deſire you to make ſome Reflection upon them. If you like what's diſagreeable, it argues an ill taſte; if you have not the reſolution to quit what diſpleaſes you, 'tis a downright weakneſs. But do what you will, you'll be eaſily juſtify'd with me: for there's no foible but I will forgive in you, without pretending to any great indulgence.

When the fair Sex tranſgreſs the Laws,
They need no Advocate:
Nature alone beſt pleads their cauſe,
And juſtifies the fault.

MAN, who is deſirous to know all Things, knows not himſelf.

To MONSIEUR ***.

YOU are not ſo ſociable of late as you us'd to be. Study has ſomething cloudy and melancholy in it, which ſpoils that natural chearfulneſs, and deprives a Man of that readineſs of wit, and freedom of fancy, which are requir'd towards a polite Converſation. Meditation has ſtill worſe effects in Civil Society: Wherefore let me adviſe you to take care, that you loſe not by it

with your friends, what you think to gain with your ſelf.

I know very well, that the diſquiſition which employs you at preſent, is both ſerious and important; you deſire to know what you are, and what you ſhall be in another world, when you ſhall ceaſe to be in this? But pray tell me, can you imagine that thoſe Philoſophers, whoſe Works you read with ſo much application, have found what you enquire after? They have ſearch'd it, as well as you, but they have ſearch'd it in vain. Your curioſity has prevail'd in all ages as well as your reflections, and the uncertainty of your knowledge. The moſt devout cannot always command their Belief; or the moſt impious their Incredulity: and 'tis one of the misfortunes of our lives, that natural Reaſon cannot aſſure us, whether there be another Life or no.

The Author of Nature was not pleaſed to allow us to be perfectly acquainted with our ſelves; and amidſt the too curious Deſires of knowing every thing, he has reduc'd us to the Neceſſity of being ignorant of our ſelves. He animates the Springs of our Soul, but conceals from us the admirable Secret that makes them move; and that knowing Artificer reſerves to himſelf the ſole Knowledge of his Work. He hath plac'd us in the midſt of numberleſs variety of Objects, with Senſes capable of being affected with them: he has given us a Mind that makes continual efforts to know their Nature. The Heavens, the Sun, the Stars, the Elements, all Nature, and even the Supreme Being on whom it depends, are ſubject to its Speculation, if not to its Knowledge. But, are we affected with the leaſt Pain? our fine Speculations vaniſh away. Are we in danger of Death? there are few people but would give up the advantages and prerogatives of the mind, to preſerve this baſe and groſs

groſs part, this earthly body, which Philoſophers ſet ſo little value upon.

I return to the Opinion, which, I ſuppoſe, you will not approve, and which, however, I believe to be true enough, *viz. That no man was ever convinc'd by reaſon, either that the Soul was certainly immortal, or that it is really annihilated with the body.*

'Tis not doubted, but that SOCRATES believ'd the Immortality of the Soul: we ſee it in what remains of the hiſtory of his Life; and the opinions which PLATO fathers upon him, ſeem to confirm it. But yet SOCRATES does not warrant it himſelf; for when he appears before his Judges, he ſpeaks of it like a man that deſires it, and mentions Annihilation like a Philoſopher that fears it not.

This, Sir, is the aſſurance which SOCRATES gives us of the Immortality of the Soul: let us ſee what proofs EPICURUS will give us of its Annihilation. EPICURUS is unacquainted with any thing but the Body: with him the Soul, the Mind, the Underſtanding, all is matter, all ſubject to corruption and diſſolution. But does he not ſeem to contradict at his death, the maxims he taught during his life? Poſterity affects him; his memory becomes dear to him; he flatters himſelf with the reputation of his writings, which he recommends to his diſciple HERMACHUS. His mind, which was ſo far engag'd in the opinion of Annihilation, is affected with tenderneſs for it ſelf, laying up honours and pleaſures for a ſtate different from that it is going to quit.

From whence, think you, proceed the contradictions we find in ARISTOTLE and SENECA, about this matter; but from Uncertainty in a queſtion of the moſt importance, as well as the moſt remote from our knowledge? From whence proceeds this diverſity of opinions? 'Tis becauſe they are confounded by

by the different notions of preſent Death, and future Life. Their Soul, which is a ſtranger to it ſelf, eſtabliſhes or overthrows its own opinion, according as it is ſeduced by the various appearances of truth.

SOLOMON, who was the greateſt of all Kings, and the wiſeſt of all men, ſeems to furniſh the Libertines with arguments to defend their errors, even at the very time when he adviſes good men to continue firm in the love of Truth. If any one ought to have been free from error, doubts, and inconſtancy, ſurely it was SOLOMON: yet we ſee by the inequality and changeableneſs of his conduct, that he was ſome times tired with his Wiſdom, as he was at others, weary of his Folly; that his virtues and vices gave him diſguſts by turns; that ſome times he thinks all things are govern'd by Chance; and that at other times he aſcribes all to Providence.

Let the Philoſophers, let the Learned ſeriouſly examine themſelves, and they will find not only an alteration, but even an abſolute contrariety in their opinions. Unleſs Faith ſubjects our Reaſon, we paſs our lives betwixt Belief and Unbelief; in endeavouring to perſuade, while we are unable to convince our ſelves,

I know very well that ſome inſtances may be offer'd, which ſeem to contradict what I aſſert. A Diſcourſe upon the Immortality of the Soul, has prompted ſome perſons to ſeek Death, that they might the ſooner enjoy the felicity that was promis'd them in another Life [1]. But when we once come to

[1] *Cleombrotus, a noted Philoſopher, threw himſelf into the Sea, after having read Plato's* Timæus. *Cicero obſerves, that Hegeſias, the Philoſopher, made ſo lively a repreſentation of the miſeries of this Life, in his publick Lectures, that ſeveral perſons were thereby induced to make away with themſelves.* A malis igitur,

to this paſs, 'tis no longer reaſon that guides us, but rather paſſion that hurries us away; 'tis no more the diſcourſe that has an effect upon us, but the vanity of a noble Death, which we fooliſhly prefer before Life; 'tis a wearineſs of preſent miſeries, and a hope of future enjoyments; 'tis a blind love of glory; 'tis a diſtemper: in a word, 'tis a fury that offers violence to natural inſtinct, and puts us beſides our ſelves.

Believe me, Sir, a ſerene undiſturbed mind is but littled moved by the reading of PLATO. It belongs to God alone to make Martyrs, and engage us by his promiſe to leave the Life we enjoy, for another which we know nothing of. For a man to pretend to convince himſelf of the Immortality of the Soul by reaſon, is a kind of diſtruſt of the promiſe God has given us about it; and, in ſome meaſure, renouncing the only thing that may ſecure it to us.

What has DES CARTES gain'd by his pretended demonſtration of a purely ſpiritual, and ever-thinking Subſtance? What has been the reſult of ſuch refined ſpeculations? Why, he has made the world believe that Religion did not convince him, without perſuading

igitur, *ſays he*, mors abducit, non à bonis, verum ſi quærimus. Hoc quidem à Cyrenaïco Hegeſia ſic copioſè diſputatur, ut is à rege Ptolomæo prohibitus eſſe dicatur illa in ſcholis dicere, quod multi, his auditis, mortem ſibi ipſi conſciſcerent. *Tuſcul. Quæſt. lib.* 1. *cap.* 34. *He mentions afterwards Cleombrotus:* Callimachi quidem epigramma in Ambraciotam Cleombrotum eſt: quem ait, cum nihil ei accidiſſet adverſi, è muro ſe in mare abjeciſſe lecto Platonis libro. *Valerius Maximus relates the ſtory of Hegeſias, as a proof of the force of Eloquence.* Quantum, *ſays he*, eloquentiâ valuiſſe Hegeſiam Cyrenaïcum philoſophum arbitramur? qui ſic mala vitæ repreſentabat; ut eorum miſerandâ imagine audientium pectoribus inſerta, multis voluntariæ mortis oppetenda cupiditatem ingeneraret? Ideoque à rege Ptolomæo alterius hac de re diſſerere prohibitus eſt. *Memorabil. lib.* viii. *cap.* 9. § 4.

perſuading either himſelf or others by his arguments.

Therefore, Sir, read, think, meditate, and reflect, as long as you pleaſe, and you will find, after all your reading, thinking, meditating, and reflecting, that it belongs to Religion alone to decide, and that Reaſon ought to ſubmit.

Reflections on the Maxim, That we ought to deſpiſe Fortune, and not care for the Court.

IT is more difficult to make the world acquieſce in this Maxim than in the others [1]: for not only they who receive favours, but even thoſe who have but bare pretenſions to them, are apt to ridicule a notion ſo contrary to their own.

I own one can hardly believe, that any reaſonable man did ever pretend to make that opinion univerſal: I ſuppoſe it was calculated for the unfortunate, with no other deſign than to cure diſtemper'd minds of an unprofitable uneaſineſs; in which caſe I cannot find fault with it. If a man be allow'd to call a Miſtreſs ungrateful and cruel, whom he has courted without ſucceſs; thoſe who think themſelves ill uſed by Fortune, may, with more reaſon, claim the privilege to forſake her, and, at a diſtance from her, to ſeek for a repoſe that may ballance the advantages ſhe has deny'd them.

[1] *This is the Maxim which is the ſubject of the foregoing Diſcourſe, &c. See the* Life of M. de St. Evremond, *under the year* 1647.

them. What injury do we do her to pay her in the ſame coin, and return contempt for contempt? Therefore I won't think it ſtrange, for a man of honour to deſpiſe the Court; but I think it ridiculous in himſelf to pride in the deſpiſing it.

There is another ſort of men every whit as intolerable: ſuch are thoſe who can't leave the Court, and yet are vex'd at every thing that paſſes there; who intereſt themſelves in the diſgrace of the perſons they are moſt indifferent to, and find fault even with the preferment of their own friends. They look upon all the good and ill that's done to others, to be downright injuſtice; and they are equally provoked by favours, tho never ſo well deſerv'd; and by puniſhments, tho never ſo juſt. Yet if you can liſten to theſe perſons, they'll talk of nothing but *Conſtancy*, *Generoſity*, and *Honour*: every thing they ſay, is always attended with a melancholy air, that makes you ſad, inſtead of affording you any comfort. They find a certain pleaſure in complaints, which cancels our gratitude for their pity.

Go where you will, you may expect to find the world compos'd of two ſorts of perſons; the men of Buſineſs, and the men of Pleaſure.

The firſt fly the approach of the miſerable, and are afraid of becoming ſo by contagion. If one has a mind to get into their acquaintance, he muſt conceal his misfortunes, and endeavour to be ſerviceable to them, in ſome reſpect or other.

Others, giving themſelves up entirely to their Diverſions, have ſomething more of humanity in them, and are eaſier of acceſs. Their Miſtreſſes and Confidents make good uſe of thoſe follies by which they are poſſeſs'd. Their ſouls are more open, but their conduct is more uncertain. Paſſion, with them, always prevails above Friendſhip; and they look upon the duties of ſociety, as an inſup-

portable

portable burden. Therefore, to converſe with them, you muſt follow the courſe of their pleaſures, confide but little in them, and get what you can from them.

The greateſt art conſiſts in knowing theſe two ſorts of perſons well. As long as you are engag'd in the world, you muſt comply with its maxims; becauſe nothing is more unprofitable, than the wiſdom of thoſe perſons who ſet up for Reformers of the age. 'Tis a part a man cannot act long, without offending his friends, and rendring himſelf ridiculous.

In the mean time, moſt of theſe Reformers have their views, their intereſts, and their cabals. 'Tis to no purpoſe to expoſe them; for all that is ſaid of them, either at court, or upon the ſtage, does not diſcourage them. Hearken to their Remonſtrances, and they will immediately become your Maſters; give no attention to them, and you muſt expect they'll be your Enemies. As long as fortune ſmil'd upon them, they enjoy'd her favours; and when they happen to fall into diſgrace, they ſeek to raiſe and advance their Intereſt, by affecting a reputation of integrity. To what purpoſe is it, for a man to hate in another, the Fortune he would not neglect for himſelf? Their Averſion is levell'd at thoſe who are Candidates for favours; their Envy at thoſe that obtain them; and their Spite at the perſons that diſtribute them: to have their eſteem, or their friendſhip, one muſt be dead, or at leaſt very miſerable.

I know that a man of ſenſe is always to be pitied in adverſity, and a fop always to be deſpis'd, let his fortune be what it will: but to hate Favourites, purely out of hatred to Favour; and to love the miſerable, merely out of the conſideration of their Diſgrace, is a very odd ſort of conduct; uneaſy to one's ſelf, inſupportable to others, and

always prejudicial. Nevertheleſs, difference of temper ſhews all theſe different effects in the life of Courtiers.

We have already obſerv'd, that there are many perſons at Court, that break with their friends, at the very moment that any misfortune happens to them; that have neither friendſhip nor averſion, but what is meaſur'd by Intereſt. Whoſoever is not uſeful to them never wants Faults; but he that can be ſerviceable to them is all Perfection. There are others, who are not ſatisfy'd with deſerting the Unfortunate; but even inſult them in their misfortunes. The more cringing and abject theſe men are in their adulations to the Favourites, the more forward they are to affront thoſe that are fallen into diſgrace.

To ſpeak the truth, if the moroſe humour of thoſe who rail at Fortune continually is extravagant, the proſtitution of thoſe who ſacrifice even their Friends to her is as infamous. There is a juſt medium between Baſeneſs and falſe Generoſity; there is a true honour that regulates the Conduct of reaſonable perſons. An honeſt man may be allow'd to have his Ambition and Intereſt; but he ought not to purſue them by any other than lawful means. He may have Addreſs and Skill without Subtlety; Dexterity without Deceit; and Complaiſance without Flattery.

When he is a friend of the Favourites, he partakes agreeably of their ſecrets: if they happen to fall, he ſhares in their misfortunes as he did in their favours. The ſame addreſs that knew how to pleaſe them, can give them comfort; he makes their misfortunes leſs troubleſom, as he render'd their pleaſure more agreeable; he manages his good offices with dexterity, without injuring either his fidelity or fortune; and thus he acts more conveniently for himſelf, and more advantageouſly for his

his friends. Generally ſpeaking, he is more hearty than thoſe who ſeek their own glory in aſſiſting others; who aim at nothing but to recommend themſelves, by giving teſtimonies of their conſtancy, and who prefer the noiſe of a good action, before the good of thoſe they deſign to oblige.

Of theſe two ſorts of perſons, the firſt pretend to keep at a diſtance from the unfortunate, that they may be more capable of ſerving them; the others run after them, to tell them how they are to manage themſelves. Whilſt the firſt are conceal'd, and only think how to relieve the afflicted; the others love nothing ſo much, as to exerciſe a wild and imperious generoſity, and to domineer over thoſe that ſtand in need of their credit.

I have gone too far in this diſcourſe: I ſhall conclude it with a word or two, concerning the opinion one ſhould entertain of Favourites.

In my mind, their greatneſs ought never to dazzle our eyes; we may judge of them, within our ſelves, as we do of other men: either eſteem or deſpiſe them, according to their Perfections or Defects; love or hate them, according to the Good or Ill they do us. I am likewiſe of opinion, that we ought never to be wanting to pay that acknowledgment which is due to them; carefully to conceal the ſlights and diſguſts we receive at their hands: and when honour or intereſt would carry us to revenge, to reſpect the inclination of the maſter, in the perſon of the enemy; not to confound the publick good with our own; and never to make a Civil War of a private Quarrel.

To deſpiſe, or hate them, are free motions, ſo long as we keep them to our ſelves; but when they carry us to things wherein the State is concern'd, we are accountable to it for our actions;

and its juſtice has a right to puniſh ſuch a criminal conduct.

A LETTER

To Count D'OLONNE [1].

YOU left me yeſterday in a Converſation that inſenſibly became a furious Diſpute; in which every thing was ſaid, that can be alledged *Pro* and *Con*, either for the diſgrace or advantage of Learning. You may eaſily gueſs at the contending parties; and you know they had both of them a great concern in maintaining their cauſe: BAUTRU [2] having no great obligation to nature for his Genius; and the Commandeur [3] may ſay, without being ungrateful, that he owes his talent neither to Arts nor Sciences.

The diſpute was occaſion'd by the commendations beſtow'd on the Queen of Sweden [4], for the great variety of her knowledge; when the Commandeur, all on the ſudden, roſe from his chair, and taking off his hat with a particular air, Gentlemen, ſays he, if the Queen of Sweden had known no more than the cuſtoms of her own Country, ſhe had continued there ſtill. To learn our Language and Faſhions, to put herſelf in a condition of

[1] *Count d'Olonne was of the Houſe of la Tremouille.*

[2] *William Bautru, Count of Serrant. See M. Bayle's Dictionary, in the Article* Bautru.

[3] *The Commandeur de Jars, of the Family of Rochefoucault.*

[4] *Queen Chriſtina was then* (1656) *in France.*

of making a figure eight days in France, ſhe has loſt her Kingdom. See what her Knowledge and fine Learning, which you cry up ſo much, are come to!

BAUTRU ſeeing ſuch an injury done to the Queen of Sweden, whom he ſo highly eſteems; and to Learning in general, which he has ſo great a value for, without any regard for the Company began with a great oath, and ſaid, *'Tis a piece of the higheſt injuſtice, to impute to the Queen of Sweden as a Crime, the nobleſt Action of her Life. As for your averſion to the Sciences, I don't at all wonder at it: this is not the firſt time you have ſhew'd your contempt of them. If you read the moſt common Hiſtories, you would know that her conduct is not without example.* CHARLES V. *was no leſs celebrated for abdicating his Kingdoms, than for his Conqueſts: did not* DIOCLESIAN *quit the Empire, and* SYLLA *the Dictatorſhip? But all thoſe things are utterly unknown to you; and 'tis downright madneſs to diſpute with an Illiterate. To conclude, Where can you find me an extraordinary man, who was not a man of Letters, and acquir'd Knowledge?*

He began with Monſieur le Prince [1], and went on as far as CESAR; from CESAR to ALEXANDER the Great; and would have traced up the matter much higher, had not the Commandeur interrupted him with ſo much vehemence, that he was forced to hold his tongue.

In troth, ſays he, *You tell us mighty feats here, with your* CESARS *and* ALEXANDERS. *For my part, I don't know whether they were learned or unlearned; it ſignifies nothing to me. But this I am ſure of, that ever ſince I knew the world, no Gentlemen were put to ſtudy, but only ſuch as were deſigned for the Church; and even the generality of*

[1] *So the French uſed to call the Prince of Condé.*

them, content themſelves with the Latin of their Manual. As for thoſe that were deſigned for the Court, or for the Army, they went fairly and honeſtly to the Academy, to learn to ride the great horſe, to dance, to fence, to play upon the Lute, to vault, a tincture of the Mathematicks, and that was all. There were in France a thouſand brave, valient, and accompliſh'd Gentlemen. Thus the THERMES [6] *and the* BELLEGARDES [7] *were formed. Latin! in my time, Latin! it had been a ſcandal for a Gentleman to be acquainted with it. I know the great qualities of Monſieur le Prince, and am his humble Servant. But I muſt tell you, that the late Conneſtable of* MONTMORENCY *knew how to maintain his credit in the Provinces, and his intereſt at Court, and yet was not able to read. Little Latin, I ſay, and good French.*

It happen'd luckily for the Commandeur that his adverſary had the Gout: otherwiſe he had reveng'd the quarrel of Latin, with ſomething more effectual than mere bluſter and words. The Conteſt was renewed afreſh; the former being reſolv'd, SIDEAS [8] like, to die a martyr for his opinion, and the other ſtill maintaining the cauſe of ignorance, with a great deal of honour and reſolution; when a charitable Prelate [9], who chanced to be in the room, interpoſed to accommodate the difference; being raviſhed to meet ſo favourable an opportunity to ſhow his Wit and Learning. He cough'd thrice very methodically, and then turning himſelf towards the Doctor, he thrice ſneer'd (as your men of the world do) at our pleaſant *Ignoramus*; and when

[6] *Paul de la Barthe, Mareſchal de Thermes.*

[7] *The Duke of Bellegarde, Great Maſter of the Horſe. See the* Memoires des Hommes illuſtres *of Brantome. Vol.* III.

[8] *The Hero of a ſmall Treatiſe of Theophile, wherein a Pedant is well characterized. See the Second Part of his Works about the Beginning.*

[9] *M. de Lavardin, Biſhop of Mans.*

when he thought he had compoſed his countenance well enough, *digitis gubernantibus vocem* [10], he ſpoke after this manner:

I muſt tell you, Gentlemen, I muſt tell you, that Learning adds to natural Abilities; and likewiſe that the gifts of nature give a grace to Learning. A Genius of it ſelf, without rule and art, is like a torrent that runs down with impetuouſneſs: and Knowledge without natural Parts, reſembles thoſe dry and barren fields, that are ſo diſagreeable to the ſight. Now Gentlemen, the buſineſs is how to reconcile what you have ſo unadviſedly divided; and to re-eſtabliſh an Union where you have made a Divorce. Learning is nothing in the world but a perfect Knowledge, and Art is nothing but a rule that directs Nature. Wou'd you, Sir, addreſſing himſelf to the Commandeur, *be ignorant of the things you ſpeak of, and value your ſelf only upon a natural Genius, which is irregular, and far from perfection? And you, Mr.* BAUTRU, *will you renounce the natural beauty of the mind, to render your ſelf a ſlave to troubleſome precepts and borrow'd knowledge? Come, come,* replied bluntly the Commandeur, *let us make an end of this diſcourſe; I wou'd rather bear with his Knowledge and his Latin, than with the long harangue you have made us here.*

The good man BAUTRU, who was not of an irreconcilable nature, was immediately appeas'd; and to quit ſcores with the Commandeur, prefer'd his agreeable Ignorance to the magnificent words of the Prelate; who, for his part, went off with a profound Contempt for both, and a deep Satisfaction in himſelf.

[10] *See Petronius, cap.* 127.

A LETTER

To MONSIEUR ***.

YOU acquaint me, Sir, that you are in love with a Proteſtant Lady; and that were it not for the difference of Religion, you could reſolve to marry her. If you are of ſuch a temper, as not to be able to bear the thought of being ſeparated from your Wife in the other world, I adviſe you to marry a Roman-Catholick. But if I were inclin'd to alter my condition, I ſhould willingly marry a woman of a different Religion from my own: for I ſhould be afraid, leſt a Catholick thinking her ſelf ſecure of poſſeſſing her Husband in the next world, ſhould bethink her ſelf of enjoying a Galant in this.

Beſides, I have an uncommon thought, which, however, I believe to be true, *viz.* That the Proteſtant Religion is as advantageous to Husbands, as the Catholick is favourable to Lovers.

That Chriſtian Liberty which the Proteſtants boaſt of, creates a certain ſpirit of Reſiſtance, which better ſecures the women againſt the inſinuations of their Lovers: whereas the ſubmiſſion which the Romiſh Perſuaſion requires, does, in ſome meaſure, incline them to ſuffer themſelves to be overcome: and indeed, a ſoul that can ſubmit to grievous Penances, muſt needs give way to pleaſurable Impreſſions.

A regular Life is the main ſcope of the Reformed Religion; and Regularity eaſily begets Virtue. The Romiſh makes women far more Devout; and Devotion eaſily turns into Love.

The

The one thinks it is ſufficient to forbear what is forbidden: the other, who admits of works of Supererogation, allows herſelf ſome irregularities, tho forbidden, becauſe ſhe does a great deal of good which is not exacted from her.

With the firſt, the Church is a ſecurity to Husbands; with the other, a place of the greateſt danger. And, indeed, the Objects of mortification in our Churches, do frequently enough inſpire Love. In the picture, for inſtance-ſake, of MARY MAGDALEN, the repreſentation of her Repentance, will, in old women, raiſe an idea of her auſtere Life; but the young will take it for a languiſhment of her Paſſion: and whilſt the good Mother deſigns to imitate the Saint in her ſufferings, the melting Daughter thinks only on the Sinner, and amorouſly revolves the occaſion of her Repentance.

Thoſe penitent Ladies, who in a Convent mourn for the ſins they have committed in the world, are an example for pleaſure, as well as for grief: nay, perhaps they beget a Confidence in ſinning, by affording the proſpect of a Reſource in repenting. A woman does not ſeparately contemplate part of their Lives, but propoſes the whole to her imitation; and giving her ſelf up to Love while ſhe is young, ſhe reſerves her tears for the comfort of her old age. In that melancholy period of life, ſo very ſubject to pain, 'tis a kind of pleaſure to mourn for one's Sins, or at leaſt a diverſion for tears, which ſhould be beſtow'd on one's infirmities.

Then, ſay you, *I am entirely ſafe with a Proteſtant:* to which I anſwer what honeſt HIPPOTHADEUS ſaid to PANURGE: *Yes, an't pleaſe God*[1]. He that's wiſe, truſts to Providence; depends upon it

[1] *See* Rabelais, *Book* III. *Chap.* 30.

it for his ſecurity; and on himſelf for a quiet mind.

OF PLEASURES.

To the Count D'OLONNE.

YOU aſk me what I am doing in the Country? I talk with all ſorts of people, I think of all manner of ſubjects, and meditate upon none. The truths I look for, need not be narrowly ſearch'd into: and, beſides, I avoid having too long and too ſerious a Converſation with my ſelf about any thing. Solitude imprints upon us I know not what ſort of dreery ſadneſs, barely by putting us upon thinking on the wretchedneſs of our condition.

If a man intends to live happy, he muſt make but few reflections upon Life, but often depart, as it were, from himſelf, and amidſt the diverſions which exterior objects furniſh him with, ſteal from the knowledge of his own miſeries.

Divertiſements, or *Diverſions*, have borrow'd their name from the *Diverſion* they give us, from ſad and tireſome objects, to thoſe that are pleaſing and agreeable: which ſufficiently ſhews, how difficult it is to overcome the hardſhips of our condition by any force of mind, but that a man may ingeniouſly decline them by dexterity and addreſs.

'Tis the diſtinguiſhing Character of God alone, that he can contemplate himſelf, and in himſelf find his Felicity and Repoſe. We can hardly caſt our

our eyes upon our ſelves, but we there diſcover a thouſand Defects, which oblige us to ſeek elſewhere what is wanting in ourſelves.

Glory, Reputation, Riches, Amours, and well-manag'd Pleaſures, are a mighty relief againſt the rigours of Nature, and the miſeries of Life. And, indeed, the principal end for which Wiſdom was given us, was to direct us in the enjoyment of Pleaſures: but for all the excellence of that Virtue, we ſhall find it ſtands us in ſmall ſtead, when we are either rack'd with Pain, or alarm'd with the approaches of Death.

POSSIDONIUS's Philoſophy prompted him to ſay, in the ſharpeſt fits of the Gout, *That the Gout was no Evil*; but his Pain was not a whit the leſs for it. SOCRATES's Wiſdom made him diſcourſe a great deal at his death; but his uncertain Reaſonings perſuaded neither his friends, nor himſelf, of the truth of what he ſaid.

I know ſome people, who diſturb the joys of their ſereneſt days, by the contemplation of a ſolemn Death; and, as if they were not born to live in the world, they only think on the manner of going out of it. In the mean time, it comes to paſs, that the extremity of Pain daſhes to pieces their fine reſolutions, when they ſtand moſt in need of them; that a fever throws them into a delirium; or that doing every thing prepoſterouſly, they are ſtrangely fond of Life, when they muſt reſolve to quit it:

——*Oculiſque errantibus alto*
Quæſivit cælo lucem, ingemuitque repertâ[1].
Virg. Æneid. Lib. IV.

For

[1] *Thrice op'd her heavy eyes, and ſought the Light,*
But having found it, ſicken'd at the ſight;
And cloſ'd her lids, at laſt, in endleſs Night.
Dryden.

For my own part, as I ever liv'd at a venture, I ſhall be contented to die in the ſame manner: and ſince Prudence had ſo ſmall a ſhare in the actions of my Life, I ſhould be ſorry ſhe ſhould take upon her to controll its end.

To ſpeak ſoberly, all the circumſtances of Death regard only thoſe that remain behind us. Weakneſs or Reſolution, all is equal at the laſt moment: and 'tis ridiculous to imagine, that this can ſignify any thing to thoſe who are going to be nothing themſelves. There's nothing that can effectually conquer the horror of this diſſolution, but the perſuaſion and confident expectation of another Life, with ſuch a compoſure of mind, as to hope every thing, and fear nothing. After all, we muſt inſenſibly go whither ſo many brave and good men are gone before us, and whither we ſhall be follow'd by ſo many others.

If I diſcourſe ſo much upon Death, after having ſaid that the contemplation of it is irkſome, 'tis becauſe it is almoſt impoſſible not to make ſome Reflections upon a thing ſo very natural. Nay, it would be a kind of effeminacy not to dare to think of it: but let people ſay what they will, I cannot approve a particular ſtudy of it; for ſuch an employment is too inconſiſtent with the enjoyment of Life. We may ſay the ſame thing of Sadneſs and all ſorts of Sorrows: a man cannot abſolutely diſingage himſelf from them; and I think them not only allowable, but reaſonable on ſome occaſions. Indifference is ſcandalous in ſome ſorts of misfortunes; and a tender concern is juſtly felt upon the diſgrace of a true Friend: but then our grief ought to be rare, and ſoon laid aſide; whereas joy ought to be frequently and artfully entertain'd.

We can never beſtow too much addreſs on the Management of our Pleaſures; and, after all, the moſt

moſt skilful do ſeldom reliſh them well. A long preparation, by taking away the ſurprize, deprives us of what's moſt quick and exquiſite in them. If we take no care of them, we enjoy them prepoſterouſly, in a hurry inconſiſtent with Politeneſs, and a true nice Taſte.

An imperfect enjoyment is attended with Regret; a ſurfeit of pleaſure with Diſguſt. There's a certain nick of time, a certain medium to be obſerv'd, with which few people are acquainted. We much enjoy the preſent Pleaſures, without impairing the future [a].

Neither ought the thought of wiſh'd-for goods to appal the reliſh of thoſe we poſſeſs. This made the greateſt men among the Antients ſet ſo great a value upon ſuch a moderation as may be ſtyl'd Oeconomy, in things either deſir'd or obtain'd.

As you do not exact from your friends ſuch a regularity as may lay a conſtraint upon them, I communicate to you the Reflections I have made without any order, and juſt as they occur in my mind.

All men are by nature prompted to gratify their Pleaſures, tho differently, according to the difference of humours and tempers. The Senſual abandon themſelves groſly to their appetites, indulging themſelves, like other animals, in all natural enjoyments.

The Voluptuous receive an impreſſion upon the ſenſes, that reaches the very Soul. I don't mean that Soul purely intelligent, from whence proceeds the moſt exquiſite light of Reaſon; but a Soul more mix'd with the body, which is affected by all ſenſible things, and knows and reliſhes pleaſures.

The

[a] *See the Obſervations* on the Morals of Epicurus, *in the ſecond Volume.*

The mind has a greater ſhare in the taſte of the Nice, than in that of others. Were it not for the Nice, Gallantry had been unknown; Muſick harſh and uncouth; and Meals coarſe and naſty. To them we are indebted for the *eruditus luxus* of PETRONIUS, and all thoſe polite and exquiſite diſcoveries which our refin'd age has made.

I have made other obſervations upon the Objects that pleaſe us; and methinks I have remark'd very particular differences in the impreſſions they make upon us.

There is a ſlight ſort of impreſſion, that does, as it were, but glance upon the Soul, awake its ſenſitive part, and employ it about agreeable Objects, on which it dwells with complacency, without either care, or much attention.

There is a ſort of ſoft and voluptuous impreſſions, which melt, as it were, and deliciouſly diffuſe themſelves over the Soul; from whence ariſes that ſweet and dangerous lazineſs, or indifference, which robs the mind of its vivacity and vigour.

There are moving Objects, which make their impreſſion on the heart, and ſtir up its affection. There are others, which by a ſecret Charm, hard to be expreſs'd, keep the Soul in a kind of Inchantment. There are others again ſo very keen, that they touch the Soul to the quick, and give it a pleaſing ſmart. Beyond this, are the Raptures and Swoonings, which proceed from a diſproportion between the ſenſe of the Soul, and the impreſſion of the Object. In the firſt, the Soul is tranſported by a kind of Raviſhment; and in the other, it ſinks under the weight of its Pleaſure, if one may ſo ſpeak.

This is what I had to ſay to you about Pleaſures: it now remains, that I ſay ſomething of the Mind, when

when it comes to it ſelf again, and is reſtor'd to its natural ſtate.

As light and wandring Minds never enjoy themſelves; ſo on the contrary, the thinking and ſaturnine are ſtill converſant with themſelves; and it is to be fear'd, that inſtead of taſting the ſweets of true Repoſe, their lazy and unactive application may throw them into Weariſomneſs. However, that time which a man renders tedious to himſelf, by his ſullen humour, is no leſs plac'd to his account, than the ſweeteſt part of Life. Thoſe melancholy hours, which we would fain paſs away with precipitation, do full as much contribute to make up the number of our days, as thoſe that eſcape us with regret.

I am none of thoſe, who ſpend their time in complaining of their condition, inſtead of thinking how to alleviate it.

Unhappy Knowledge, ſource of all our woes,
Deſtructive of our Pleaſure and Repoſe.
Why, when ſome dire miſchance has been ſuſtain'd,
Should the ungrateful image be retain'd?
Muſt we to grief ſuch ſlaviſh homage pay,
As ſigh our beſt, our deareſt hours away?
Or to improve the preſſures of our doom,
Muſt we bewail the paſt, or fear the Ills to come?

I freely leave thoſe Gentlemen to their murmurs, and endeavour to extract ſome comfort from thoſe very things they repine at. I entertain my ſelf with an agreeable remembrance of paſt enjoyments, and with pleaſant ideas of what is to come.

If I am oblig'd to regret any thing, my Regrets are rather ſentiments of tenderneſs than of grief: and, if in order to avoid Evil, we muſt neceſſarily foreſee it, my foreſight never goes ſo far

as

as fear. 'Tis my aim, that the conſciouſneſs of feeling nothing that troubles me, and the conſideration of ſeeing my ſelf free, and maſter of my ſelf, ſhould give me the ſpiritual pleaſure of good EPICURUS. I mean that agreeable Indolence, which is not a ſtate without either grief or pleaſure, but the nice ſenſe of a pure Joy, which proceeds from a repoſe of conſcience, and a ſerenity of mind.

After all, what Pleaſure ſoever we find in our ſelves, let us take care not to dwell too long at home. 'Tis an eaſy paſſage from theſe ſecret joys to inward griefs; ſo that there is no leſs good husbandry requir'd in the enjoyment of our own goods, than in the uſe of thoſe that are external.

Who knows not that the Soul is tir'd with being always in the ſame ſtate; and that, at long run, it would loſe all its vigour, if it were not awaken'd by its paſſions.

If a man intends to live happy, he muſt make but few reflections upon Life; but often depart, as it were, from himſelf, and amidſt the diverſions which exterior objects furniſh him with, ſteal from the knowledge of his own miſeries.

Ne'er break thy reſt with the deſigns of Fate;
For he that ſtill improves his preſent ſtate,
That follows time, inſenſible of fears,
And counts his Pleaſures, rather than his years;
With eaſe and freedom taſtes the preſent Joy,
And diſtant Ills do ne'er his thoughts employ.
His mind unbent, in innocent Repoſe,
No real grief, no gloomy moments knows.
He keeps a ſweet remembrance of the paſt,
And hugs the preſent while the tranſports laſt:
He ſteals from the chagrin the future gives,
And, as the happy minutes come, he lives.

He

He rules his Paſſions with a ſov'reign ſway,
And makes inferior Appetites obey.
Sometimes his Reaſon meets the coming joy,
And with King Nature's Dictates does comply.
Favour he thinks a bleſſing worth deſire,
And Glory does his active ſoul inſpire:
Yet both he ſees without a jealous eye,
And State-convulſions don't his reſt deſtroy.
From Virtue's golden mean he never ſwerves,
And neither fears the thunder, nor deſerves.
In the ſame ſtream his Joys and Virtues flow,
He looks on Heav'n, yet ſcorns not Earth below.
When Nature ſummons to another ſtate,
He does not vainly murmur at his Fate.
Dull Volumes of the Schools he throws away,
And Heav'n's Decrees does patiently obey.

This is the utmoſt of what the Philoſophy of EPICURUS and ARISTIPPUS can afford to their followers: but true Chriſtians, far more happy by the purity of the Precepts of the Goſpel, will taſte the ſweets of an innocent Life, which will be ſtill attended by a greater Felicity.

A JUDGMENT

On the SCIENCES *to which a Gentleman may apply himſelf.*

YOU aſk me my opinion, about thoſe Sciences to which a Gentleman may apply himſelf: I will give you it very impartially, without pretending to determine any man's Judgment by mine.

I never was much addicted to Reading; and if I employ any hours that way, they are the moſt idle, without deſign, without order, when I cannot enjoy the Converſation of ingenious Gentlemen, and find my ſelf debarr'd from pleaſurable entertainments. Do not therefore expect that I ſhould ſpeak to you profoundly of thoſe things, which I have but curſorily examin'd, and upon which I have but ſlight Reflections.

Divinity ſeems to me very conſiderable, as it is a Science which reſpects Salvation: but in my judgment, it is become too common; and 'tis ridiculous, that even women ſhould dare to debate queſtions, which ought to be handled with a great deal of myſtery and ſecrecy. 'Tis ſufficient for us to be obedient and ſubmiſſive. Let us leave this Doctrine wholly to our ſuperiors, and follow with reſpect thoſe that have the care of guiding us. Not but that our Doctors themſelves contribute to deſtroy this deference, and ſtart nice curioſities, which inſenſibly lead us into Errors: for there is nothing ſo well eſtabliſh'd by the conſent of all nations, but they ſubmit it to the extravagance of Reaſoning. They burn a man who is ſo unhappy as not to believe a God, and at the ſame time, 'tis a queſtion in the Schools, *Whether there is one, or no?* By this means they ſtagger weak underſtandings, and cauſe a ſuſpicion in the diſtruſtful; by this means they arm the furious, and permit them to find out pernicious arguments, whereby they combat their own real ſentiments, and the true impreſſions of nature.

HOBBES, the greateſt Genius of England[1] ſince BACON, would not, by his good will, ſuffer ARISTOTLE to have ſo much credit in Divinity; and makes

[1] *See the Article of* Hobbes *in Mr. Bayle's* Dictionary. *M. de St. Evremond did often converſe with Mr. Hobbes.*

makes his ſubtleties the occaſion of the ſeveral diviſions in the Church.

It proceeds, perhaps, from theſe ſorts of Reaſonings, that the Divines are not ſometimes the moſt docile; which gave occaſion to the proverb, *That Phyſicians and Divines rarely truſt to Remedies and Religion.* I'll ſay no more, but only wiſh, that our Divines would treat of matters of Religion with more moderation; and that thoſe who ought to ſubmit to them, would have leſs curioſity.

As *Philoſophy* allows us a greater latitude in thinking, I have cultivated that ſtudy a little more. When I had reach'd that part of a man's age, that fits his underſtanding for the purſuit of Knowledge, I had a curious deſire to comprehend the nature of things; and my preſumption ſoon perſuaded me, that I was acquainted with it. The leaſt Proof ſeem'd to me a Demonſtration, and a Probability paſs'd for a Truth; nor can I expreſs to you with what contempt I look'd down upon thoſe whom I thought to be ignorant of thoſe things, which I fancy'd my ſelf to know perfectly well. At length, when Age, and Experience, which unhappily never comes before the other, had ſuggeſted to me ſerious Reflections, I began to lay aſide a Science always conteſted, and about which the greateſt men ever had different ſentiments. I knew from the univerſal conſent of Nations, that PLATO, ARISTOTLE, ZENO, and EPICURUS, had been the luminaries of their age; and yet there was nothing ſo contrary as their Opinions. Three thouſand years after, I found them equally diſputed; ſticklers on all ſides, but nothing of certainty on any. In the midſt of theſe Meditations, which inſenſibly undeceiv'd me, I had the curioſity to ſee GASSENDUS, the moſt knowing and the leaſt preſuming of all Philoſophers. After ſeveral long converſations, wherein he communi-

cated to me all that can be attain'd by Reaſon; he lamented, *That Nature had given ſo large a ſcope to our Curioſity, and ſuch narrow bounds to our Knowledge*; adding, *That he did not ſay this to mortify the preſumption of others, or to make an oſtentation of his own Humility, which is little better than downright Hypocriſy; that, perhaps, he was not ignorant what judgment might be made of ſeveral things; but that he durſt not be poſitive, he was thoroughly acquainted with the moſt inconſiderable.* Upon this, a Science which I already ſuſpected, appear'd too vain for me to ſubject my ſelf to it any longer; I broke off all commerce with it, and began to admire how it was poſſible for a wiſe man to ſpend his life in unprofitable inquiries.

The *Mathematicks* have, indeed, much more certainty: but when I conſider the profound meditation they require, and that they draw us from actions and pleaſures, to employ us entirely in ſpeculation, its Demonſtrations ſeem to me very dear-bought; and a man muſt be very fond of Truth to purſue it at that price. You will tell me, that we have but few conveniences and ornaments of Life, but what we owe to this Science: I freely own it, and there are no commendations which I will not beſtow upon the great Mathematicians, provided that I am not one of their number. I admire their inventions, and the works which they produce: but I am of opinion, that it is enough for perſons of good ſenſe, to know how to apply them well; for, in truth, 'tis more our intereſt to enjoy, than to know the world.

There are no Sciences, in my opinion, that particularly deſerve the care of Gentlemen, but *Morality*, *Politicks*, and *polite Learning*.

The firſt has a relation to Reaſon; the ſecond to Society; the third to Converſation: the one teaches us to govern our Paſſions; by the other

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we are inſtructed in affairs of State, and how to regulate our conduct in employments; the laſt poliſhes the mind, refines the manners, and makes us agreeable.

Perſons of quality amongſt the Antients, took a particular care to inſtruct themſelves in all theſe things. Every one knows that Greece has produc'd the greateſt Philoſophers, and the greateſt Legiſlators: and we cannot deny, but that other Nations have borrow'd from them all the Politeneſs they can boaſt of.

The beginnings of Rome were rude and ſavage; but that fierce Virtue, which would not let them pardon their own children, was advantageous to the Common-wealth. As their Reaſon began to be more refin'd, they found a way to reconcile the motions of Nature with the love of their Country; and, at length, they join'd Graces and Ornament, to Juſtice and Reaſon: inſomuch that, in the latter times, there was no perſon of any conſideration, but who addicted himſelf to ſome Sect or other of Philoſophy; not with a deſign to comprehend the principles and nature of things, but to fortify the mind by the ſtudy of Wiſdom.

As for *Politicks*, 'tis ſcarce to be believ'd, how early the Romans inſtructed themſelves in all the Intereſts of their State; with what aſſiduity they apply'd themſelves to the knowledge of their Government and Laws, ſo as to render themſelves capable of the affairs of Peace and War, even before they had made any publick trials of their abilities.

The leaſt curious know how much they were affected with *polite Learning*; and it is certain, that there were but few great men in Rome, who did not keep ſome ingenious Grecians in their houſes, to entertain them with agreeable converſation. Amongſt a hundred examples which I could alledge,

I will content my ſelf with that of CESAR, and the ſingle authority of ſo great a man, will juſtify my aſſertion.

Of all the ſects then in repute, he choſe that of EPICURUS, as the moſt human, and moſt conformable to his temper and his pleaſures. For, there were two ſorts of Epicureans, the one liv'd a retir'd ſtudious Life, purſuant to the Precept of the firſt Inſtitutor [a]: the other, who could not approve the auſterity of too rigid a Philoſophy, did therefore give way to more natural opinions. Of this laſt claſs, were the greateſt part of the ingenious men of that time, who knew how to diſtinguiſh the Gentleman from the Magiſtrate, and apply their cares to the Republick, in ſuch a manner, that there was time enough left both for their friends and for themſelves. It would be needleſs to tell you, how well vers'd CESAR was in affairs of State, or to enlarge upon the clearneſs of his Judgment, and politeneſs of his Converſation: but this I will add, that he was able to diſpute the prize of Eloquence with CICERO; and if he did not affect the reputation of it, no one can deny, but that he writ and ſpoke infinitely more like a man of quality, than that Orator.

REFLEC-

[a] Λάθε βιώσας, Live conceal'd. *Plutarch, in his* Morals, *has endeavoured to confute this Maxim, which, perhaps, he did not well underſtand. See the Engliſh Tranſlation, Vol.* III. *pag.* 23. *of the* 4th *edit. London* 1704.

REFLECTIONS

On the different Genius of the

ROMAN PEOPLE,

At the different times of the REPUBLICK.

CHAP. I.

Of the fabulous Original of the Romans, and of their Genius under their firſt Kings.

IT fares with the Original of Nations, as with the pedigrees of private perſons; for as men cannot endure low and obſcure beginnings, ſo theſe are often chimerical, and the former fabulous. Men are naturally defective in many things, and naturally vain; among whom the Founders of

States, Legiſlators, and Conquerors, not ſatisfy'd with their human condition, whoſe defects and infirmities they were but too well acquainted with, frequently aſcrib'd the cauſes of their merits to ſomething ſupernatural. Hence it comes to paſs, that the Ancients would very often claim a dependance upon ſome Deity or other, either upon the account of deſcending from it, or elſe becauſe they own'd themſelves oblig'd to its particular care and protection. Some perſons have ſeem'd to believe theſe ſtories, purely for the ſake of perſuading others; and have made an ingenious uſe of an advantageous deceit, which procur'd a veneration for their perſons, and a ſubmiſſion to their authority.

Others there were who flatter'd themſelves with ſuch thoughts in good earneſt. The contempt with which they treated the reſt of mankind, and the preſumptuous opinion they had of their own extraordinary qualities, occaſion'd their fantaſtical ſearch after an original different from ours: but it has happen'd more frequently, that Nations, either to make themſelves honour'd, or out of a principle of gratitude to thoſe that had deſerv'd eminently of them, have made this ſort of fables current.

The Romans were not free from this vanity: not content with their being related to VENUS by ÆNEAS, who led the Trojans into Italy, they renew'd their alliance with the Gods, by the fabulous birth of ROMULUS; whom they ſuppos'd to be the Son of MARS, and deify'd after his Death. His Succeſſor, NUMA, had nothing that was divine in his race; but the ſanctity of his life gave him credit enough, to pretend a particular correſpondence with the Goddeſs EGERIA; which commerce was of no ſmall aſſiſtance to him, towards the eſtabliſhment of his ceremonies. In ſhort, if

you

you will believe them, the greateſt care of Deſtiny was the foundation of Rome; nay, they pretend, that Providence induſtriouſly adapted the various inclinations of its Kings, to the different neceſſities of that people.

I hate an admiration founded upon Fables, or eſtabliſh'd by an erroneous judgment. There are ſo many realities to be admir'd amongſt the Romans, that we do them an injury, by endeavouring to advance them by ſtories; and the way to be truly juſt to their memory, is to ſet aſide all vain commendations. In this deſign, I have determin'd to conſider them by themſelves, without the leaſt regard to fond conceits, tho handed down by tradition, and receiv'd. It would be too tedious a work, to give an exact account of every thing; but I ſhall not deſcend into the particulars of actions. I ſhall content my ſelf, with tracing the Genius of ſome memorable times, and the different ſpirit with which Rome has been obſerv'd to be variouſly animated.

The Kings had ſo little a ſhare in advancing the Greatneſs of the Roman People, that I don't think my ſelf oblig'd to beſtow any particular conſiderations upon them. 'Tis with reaſon, that Hiſtorians have call'd their Reigns, The *Infancy of Rome*; for 'tis certain, that under them, ſhe made but a very inconſiderable progreſs. To be convinc'd how inconſiderable their actions were, 'tis ſufficient to know, that ſeven Kings, at the end of two hundred and odd years, did not leave behind them a Dominion much larger than that of Parma or Mantua. One ſingle Battle, now a-days, won in a cloſe Country, would draw a greater extent of Land after it.

As for thoſe various and ſingular Talents which are aſcrib'd to each of them, by a myſterious Providence, 'tis no more than what had before happen'd

pen'd to ſeveral other Princes: for 'tis rare to find a Succeſſor endow'd with the ſame qualities that his Predeceſſor poſſeſs'd. The one, ambitious and active, employs all his thoughts about War: another, who naturally loves repoſe, thinks it the trueſt policy, to maintain himſelf in Peace: one makes Juſtice his principal virtue; the other is zealous for nothing, but what relates to Religion. Thus each purſues his own natural diſpoſition, and is delighted in the exerciſe of his talent: nor can any thing be more ridiculous, than to improve the moſt common thing in nature into a Miracle. I will farther aſſert, That this difference of Genius was ſo far from turning to the advantage of the Roman People, that the ſmall progreſs they made under their Kings, in my judgment, is wholly to be imputed to it. Certainly nothing can be a greater hindrance to the advancing of any Nation, than this diverſity of temper: for it frequently makes us quit our real intereſt, which we do not underſtand, out of a deſire to introduce ſomething which we know better, but which, for the moſt part, is not ſuitable to our circumſtances.

Altho theſe new inſtitutions ſhould bring all the advantages we expected from them, yet it frequently happens from the diverſity of applications, that ſeveral things are fortunately enough begun, that cannot be brought to a happy concluſion.

The natural bent of the Roman People was altogether martial under ROMULUS. In NUMA's reign nothing was done, but the eſtabliſhing of Prieſts, and religious perſons. TULLUS HOSTILIUS found it no eaſy matter to draw his ſubjects from ſo pleaſant an amuſement to the military Diſcipline; which was hardly eſtabliſh'd when ANCUS appear'd on the ſtage, whoſe natural inclinations led him to render the City more commodious and magnificent. The firſt TARQUIN, to give more dignity

dignity to the Senate, and more majesty to the Government, invented ornaments, and appointed marks of distinction. The principal aim of SERVIUS, was to have an exact account of the Estates of the Romans; and according to those, to divide them into Tribes, that so they might all equally contribute to the publick necessities. "TARQUIN "the Proud, says FLORUS, was extremely ser- "viceable to his Country, because his Tyranny "gave birth to the Republick[1]." This is the discourse of a Roman; who, altho born in the Reign of Emperors, could not forbear to prefer Liberty to their Government. My opinion is, that the Commonwealth may be justly admir'd, without admiring the method by which it was establish'd.

To return to these Kings: 'tis certain, that as each had his particular talent, so none of them was master of a capacity large enough. Had Rome had one of those great Monarchs, who, by an universal and extensive Genius, can grasp every thing, she should not have been under the necessity of borrowing from different Princes, a few different institutions, which might easily have been settled during the Life of one Prince.

The Reign of TARQUIN is as well known to the world, as the establishment of Liberty. Pride, Cruelty, and Avarice, were his predominant qualities, but he wanted dexterity to manage his Tyranny. To define his conduct in a few words: he knew neither how to govern according to the Laws, nor reign against them.

In a state so violent for the People, and so unsecure for the Prince, there was nothing wanting, but an opportunity for Liberty, which was offer'd by

[1] Postremò, superbi illius importuna dominatio nonnihil, immo vel plurimum profuit. Sic enim effectum est ut agitatus injuriis populus cupiditate libertatis incenderentur. *Florus, Epitome rerum Romanarum*, Lib. I. cap. 8.

by the death of the unfortunate LUCRETIA. This virtuous Lady, ſo cruel to her own perſon, could not forgive her ſelf for the crime of another: ſhe laid violent hands upon her ſelf, after ſhe had been raviſh'd by SEXTUS[2]; and bequeath'd the revenge of her Honour to BRUTUS and COLLATINUS. 'Twas then that this conſtraint of humours, ſo long before pent up, broke out.

It is incredible how unanimouſly all tempers conſpir'd to revenge the Death of LUCRETIA: the People, to whom the ſlighteſt matter ſerv'd for a ſpecious reaſon, were more incens'd againſt SEXTUS, for the violence LUCRETIA offered her ſelf, than if he had himſelf been the Murderer: and as it generally happens in tragical events, by the mixture of Pity and Indignation, every one aggravated the horror of the Crime, by a compaſſion for this great but unfortunate Virtue.

You may find in LIVY, the moſt minute particulars of the paſſion and conduct of the Romans[3]: an odd mixture of fury and wiſdom, uſually meeting in great Revolutions, where Violence produces the ſame effects, that heroick Virtue doth, when it is accompanied with diſcipline. 'Tis certain, that BRUTUS[4] made an admirable uſe of the diſpoſitions of the people; but to define him well, is a task of no ſmall difficulty.

The greatneſs of a Republick admired by the whole world, has made the Founder of it admired without much examining his actions. Every thing that appears extraordinary paſſes for great, if it be ſucceſsful: as every thing which is great, appears fooliſh, when it meets a contrary event. A man

[2] *Eldeſt Son to Tarquin the Proud. See the Article of* Lucretia *in Mr. Bayle's* Dictionary.

[3] *Livy, Book* I. *Chap.* 59.

[4] *See in Mr. Bayle's* Dictionary, *the Article* Brutus (*Lucius Junius*).

man ought to have liv'd in that age, nay, to have convers'd with him, to be perfectly satisfy'd, whether he put his Sons to death out of a principle of heroick Virtue, or the hardness of a fierce and unnatural temper.

For my own part, I'm of opinion, that much of his conduct is owing to design: his profound dissimulation, under the Reign of TARQUIN, as well as his address in getting COLLATINUS ejected out of the Consulship, is to me matter of a convincing nature. It might so happen indeed, that his zeal for Liberty, stifled in him the sentiments of nature; and perhaps too, his own security might so far prevail upon him, that in this hard and melancholy choice of undoing himself, or undoing his Children, so intimate and pressing a concern prevail'd over the safety of his Family: nay, who knows, but Ambition had a share in this action? COLLATINUS ruin'd himself, by favouring his Nephews: BRUTUS made himself master of the Commonwealth, by the rigorous punishment of his own Sons. That which may with assurance be affirm'd, is this, that there was something of fierceness in his nature; which was, however, the Genius of that time. A disposition as savage as free, did then, and has very often since, produc'd mistaken Virtues.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Of the Genius of the Romans in the beginnings of the Republick.

IN the firſt times of the Republick, the People were furious for Liberty and the publick Good: the affection they bore to their Country, ſuppreſs'd all the motions of nature, and the zeal of the Citizen robbed the man of himſelf. Sometimes, thro' a ſavage Juſtice, the Father cauſed his Son to die for the performance of ſome extraordinary exploit, contrary to his commands; ſometimes he devoted himſelf as a victim, thro' a ſuperſtition as cruel as it was ridiculous; as if the deſign of Society was to oblige us to die, when it was inſtituted to encourage us to live with leſs danger, and with greater eaſe. Valour had ſomewhat fierce and wild in it, and an obſtinacy in fighting ſupplied the place of diſcipline in war. In their Conqueſts nothing of generoſity, as yet, appear'd; it was not an aſpiring ſpirit, which ſought after an ambitious ſuperiority over others. To ſpeak properly, the Romans were troubleſome and violent neighbours, who were reſolved to exclude the lawful owners from their habitations, and plough other peoples lands with their ſwords in their hands.

Oftentimes the victorious Conſul was of no better quality than the people he had conquered. The refuſing the Spoil coſt one his life; the dividing of it caus'd the baniſhment of another: they refuſed to go to war under the conduct of ſome particular Generals; and denied to conquer under others. Sedition paſſed eaſily for an effect of

of Liberty, which thought it ſelf wounded by an abſolute obedience, even to thoſe Magiſtrates whom they themſelves had created, and to thoſe Captains they had choſen.

The Genius of this People was as ruſtical as it was wild: Dictators were ſometimes taken from the plough, to which they return'd again after their expedition was over; not ſo much out of a preference of an innocent and undiſturbed condition, as becauſe they had been accuſtomed to an unpolite and unſociable ſort of life. As for that Frugality which has been ſo highly extoll'd, it was not a retrenching of Superfluities, or a voluntary abſtinence from things agreeable, but a groſs uſe of what they poſſeſs'd, and was next at hand. They were not ambitious after Riches, becauſe they knew nothing of them; they were content with a little, becauſe they conceived no more; and forbore thoſe pleaſures, of which they had no idea. Nevertheleſs, for want of a due reflection, theſe old Romans might be taken for the moſt conſiderable perſons in the world: for their Poſterity has conſecrated the very leaſt particulars of their actions; whether it is, that people naturally reſpect the beginners of great works, or that their offspring, vain in all reſpects, were deſirous that their Anceſtors ſhould be maſters of Virtues, when they wanted Greatneſs.

I know very well, that one may alledge ſome Actions of ſuch rare and noble Virtue, that they will ſerve for patterns to all ages: but then theſe were the actions of particular perſons, who had nothing in themſelves of the genius of that time; or elſe they were actions of a ſingular nature, which (as it were) eſcaped men by chance, and had nothing common with the ordinary courſe of their lives.

However, it is to be acknowledged, that Manners ſo unpoliſhed and ruſtical, were agreeable

enough to a riſing Commonwealth. This roughneſs of natural temper, which never yielded to difficulties, eſtabliſhed Rome on a ſtronger foundation, than a more gentle and tractable diſpoſition, tho more civilized and rational, could have done. But, to ſpeak properly, this quality conſider'd in it ſelf, was very ſavage; and deſerves no reſpect, but becauſe it hath the recommendation of Antiquity, and becauſe it gave a beginning to the greateſt Empire in the univerſe.

CHAP. III.

Of the firſt Wars of the Romans.

THE firſt Wars of the Romans were of very great importance, in reſpect to themſelves; but little remarkable, if we except the extraordinary actions of ſome particular perſons. It is certain, that the intereſt of the Commonwealth depended viſibly upon them, ſince there was a likelihood of their returning under the ſubjection of the TARQUINS; ſince Rome could not preſerve it ſelf from the reſentment of CORIOLANUS, but by the tears of his Mother; and that the defence of the Capitol was the laſt reſource of the Romans, when, after the defeat of their forces, their very City was taken and ſacked by the Gauls. But conſidering theſe expeditions in themſelves, it will be found, that they were rather tumults than real wars: and to ſpeak the truth, if the Lacedemonians had ſeen the military Diſcipline which the Romans practiſed in thoſe times, I queſtion not, but they

would have reckon'd thoſe people Barbarians, who took off the bridles of their horſes, to make their Cavalry the more impetuous in their charges; a nation who truſted their ſecurity and guard with Geeſe and Dogs, whoſe negligence they puniſh'd, and whoſe watchfulneſs they recompens'd. This rude way of making war, laſted a long while; and the Romans gain'd many conſiderable Conqueſts with an indifferent capacity: they were a people of great Bravery, but little Skill, who encounter'd adverſaries leſs couragious, and more ignorant; but becauſe their Generals were called *Conſuls*, their Troops *Legions*, and their Soldiers *Romans*, there has been more aſcribed to the vanity of names, than to the reality of things; and without examining the diſtinction of times and perſons, ſome people have pretended that they were the ſame Armies under the command of CAMILLUS, MANLIUS, CINCINNATUS, PAPIRIUS CURSOR, and CURIUS DENTATUS, as under SCIPIO, MARIUS, SYLLA, POMPEY, and CESAR.

What, indeed, may with juſtice be affirm'd of the firſt ages, is an extraordinary Courage, a great auſterity of Life, a great affection for their Country. In the latter times, an equal ſhare of Valour, a great skill in War, and every thing elſe; but withal, a great deal of corruption.

This is the reaſon why men of integrity, to whom vice and luxury were odious, were not ſatisfied with admiring the Probity of their Anceſtors, unleſs they extended their admiration to all that belong'd to them; without diſtinguiſhing wherein they had Merit, and wherein they had it not. Thoſe who had occaſion to complain of the age they liv'd in, have given a thouſand encomiums to Antiquity, from which they could ſuffer nothing: and thoſe whoſe moroſe humour inclines 'em to find fault with

every thing preſent, cry'd up, thro' caprice, what was paſt. The more knowing perſons, indeed, wanted not diſcernment; and being ſenſible all ages have their imperfections and virtues, they form'd a true judgment in themſelves of the time of their anceſtors, as well as their own: but they were obliged to admire with the people, and to exclaim, ſometimes with reaſon enough, and ſometimes without it, *Majores noſtri, majores noſtri*, as they obſerv'd the cry to go. In ſo general an admiration, the Hiſtorians have not been wanting to pay the ſame reſpect to the Antients; and making a Hero of every Conſul, have beſtow'd all virtues on every one that had well ſerved the Republick.

I own, that it was no ſmall merit to ſave it, but that's a different caſe from what we are upon; and it may be truly affirmed, that the good Citizens liv'd amongſt the antient Romans, and the good Generals amongſt the latter.

CHAP. IV.

Againſt the Opinion of LIVY, *about the imaginary War in which he engages* ALEXANDER *againſt the Romans* [a].

I Have often wonder'd what ſtrange ideas LIVY entertain'd of theſe antient Romans; nor can I comprehend, how a perſon of ſuch excellent ſenſe, could

[a] *This is but a ſuppoſition of Livy, who examines what would probably have happen'd, if Alexander had made War againſt the Romans. See Book IX. of the firſt* Decad.

could hunt after a notion so far from his subject, to reason so falsly upon an imaginary War, wherein he ingages ALEXANDER. He makes this Conqueror descend into Italy, with as small a number of forces as he then had, when he was no more than a petty King of Macedon. He ought to have considered, that a General of the Carthaginians pass'd the Alps with an army of 80000 men.

But this is not all, for he ascribes as much capacity in war to PAPIRIUS CURSOR, and to all the Consuls of that time, as to ALEXANDER himself; when to speak the truth, they had but a very imperfect knowledge of it. The Romans, at that time, made no great use of their Cavalry; their horses were so little serviceable to them, that they used to dismount in the very heat of the engagement, and mount again to pursue their foes, when put to the rout. 'Tis certain that the Romans placed their chief strength in their Infantry, laying no great stress on the charges that might be made with the Horse. The Legions, particularly, had a contemptible opinion of the adversaries Horse, till the War of PYRRHUS, where the Thessalians gave 'em sufficient cause to be of another mind: but the Cavalry of HANNIBAL put them after that into great terror; and those invincible Legions were, for some time, so frighted with it, that they durst not appear in the least Plain.

To return to the time of PAPIRIUS: they knew nothing, in a manner, of Cavalry; they had no skill either in securing advantageous posts, or encamping in any order; for they themselves acknowledge, that they learn'd to form their Camp by that of PYRRHUS, before which time they used always to encamp in confusion. They were no less ignorant of Engines, and other works necessary to form a considerable Siege; which proceeded either

from the dulneſs of invention in a people not at all induſtrious, or elſe becauſe their armies being never of a long ſtanding, there was no opportunity given them to bring things to perfection.

Rarely was one and the ſame Army known to paſs from the command of one Conſul, to that of another; and yet more rarely was the Commander of the Legions continued in his poſt, after the expiration of his appointed time; which conduct was, indeed, excellent for the preſervation of the Republick, but extremely prejudicial to the eſtabliſhment of a good army. To be convinc'd how far they were jealous of Liberty, it will ſuffice to obſerve, that after the defeat at Thraſimene, at which time they were obliged to create a Dictator, FABIUS had ſcarce ſtopp'd the torrent of HANNIBAL, by the cautiouſneſs of his conduct, when they put Conſuls in his place. All things were to be dreaded from the fury of HANNIBAL, but nothing from the moderation of FABIUS; and yet the apprehenſion of a remote evil, prevailed above the preſent neceſſity.

It muſt be own'd, that the two Conſuls manag'd themſelves with prudence in this War. They ruin'd HANNIBAL inſenſibly, and retriev'd the Commonwealth; when, for the ſame reaſon, TERRENTIUS VARRO, a man preſumptuous and ignorant, was choſen in their room, who gave battle at Cannæ, and loſt it; and thereby reduced the Romans to that extremity, that their Valour, as extraordinary as it was, was not ſo inſtrumental in their preſervation, as the ſupineneſs of HANNIBAL.

There was yet another inconvenience, which hinder'd the command of their army from being always given to the moſt experienc'd, and able to lead them. As the two Conſuls could not be both Patricians, and the Patricians would not agree that

both ſhould be of the Plebeian Order; ſo, for the generality, it happened, that he who was nominated, was a perſon agreeable to the People, who owed his preferment to favour; the other, whom they would had choſen for his merit, was oftentimes excluded, either thro' the oppoſition of the people, if he was a Patrician, or by the intrigues and artifices of the Senators, when he was not of their rank. The contrary was obſerv'd among the Macedonians, where the Captains and Soldiers had ſtood together, time out of mind: they were the Veterans of PHILIP, if I may ſo expreſs my ſelf, renewed from time to time, and augmented by ALEXANDER, as his occaſions requir'd. Here the courage of the Cavalry equall'd the reſolution of the Phalanx, which indeed may juſtly be preferr'd to the Legion; ſince, in the War of PYRRHUS, the Legions were afraid to oppoſe ſome paltry Phalanxes, made up of broken Macedonians. Here they were equally expert, both in matters relating to a ſiege, or the field. Never was Army concern'd againſt ſo many adverſaries, or had ſeen ſo many different climates. Now if the diverſity of countries, where the ſcene of war is, and the variety of nations, which are brought under ſubmiſſion, can form our experience, how ſhould the Romans, who had never been out of Italy, nor beheld any other enemies but a few inconſiderable neighbours of their Republick, enter into competition with the Macedonians? Their Diſcipline was in reality great, but their Capacity indifferent.

Even after the Commonwealth became more powerful, they had the diſgrace of being defeated, as often as they made war againſt experienc'd Generals. PYRRHUS overcame them purely by the advantage of his conduct, which made FABRICIUS ſay, *That the Epirotes did not conquer the Romans,*

mans, but that the Conſul had been vanquiſhed by their King.

In the firſt Carthaginian War, REGULUS defeated the people of Carthage in Africk, in ſo many engagements, that they were already look'd upon as Tributaries to Rome. They were treating of conditions, which were made inſupportable, when XANTIPPUS, a Lacedemonian, arrived with a body of Auxiliaries. This Grecian, who was a man of valour and experience, informed himſelf of the order and Diſcipline of the Carthaginians, together with the Conduct of the Romans. Having fully inſtructed himſelf, he found both one and t'other very ignorant in war, and by his frequent diſcourſes upon this ſubject amongſt the Soldiers, the noiſe came at laſt to the Senate of Carthage, what a contemptible opinion this Lacedemonian had of their enemy. The Magiſtrates, at length, had the curioſity to hear him talk; and XANTIPPUS having made them ſenſible of their paſt errors, promis'd them the Victory, if they would give him the command of their Troops.

In a miſerable condition, where all things are deſpair'd of, men are more eaſily perſuaded to confide in others, than in themſelves: and ſo thoſe Suſpicions, fatal to the merit of Strangers, yielded to the preſent neceſſity; and the moſt powerful, prompted with an apprehenſion of their approaching ruin, ſubmitted to the conduct of XANTIPPUS without envy. I ſhould write a Hiſtory, inſtead of alledging an Example, ſhould I enlarge any farther; it ſuffices to ſay, that XANTIPPUS having taken upon him the management of affairs, made a thorow change in the Carthaginian army, and knew ſo well how to make his advantage of the ignorance of the Romans, that he obtain'd over them one of the moſt entire victories that ever was won. The Carthaginians, as ſoon as they were out

of danger, began to be asham'd of owing their Preservation to a stranger, and returning to the perfidiousness of their nature, thought to extinguish their disgrace, by ridding themselves of him, who had rid them of the Romans. It is not well known, whether they put him to death, or whether he was so fortunate to escape [a]; but this is most certain, that thro' the absence of this experienc'd General, the Romans easily regain'd the superiority they had over them before.

If we descend to the second Punick War, we shall find, that the vast advantages which HANNIBAL had always over the Romans, proceeded from the capacity of the one, and the want of skill in the other; and, in effect, whenever he design'd to put a confidence into his Soldiers, he never told them, that his enemies wanted Courage or Resolution, for they had experienc'd the contrary often enough; but he assur'd them, that they had to do with a people unskill'd in War.

It is with this Science, as with Arts and Politeness; it passes from one nation to another, and flourishes at different times, and in different places. Every one knows, that the Grecians carry'd it to a high pitch: PHILIP surpass'd them in it; and all things arriv'd to their perfection under ALEXANDER, when ALEXANDER alone corrupted himself. It continu'd still with his successors: HANNIBAL brought it amongst the Carthaginians; and for all the vanity of the Romans, they receiv'd it from him by the experience of their defeats, by reflecting upon their mistakes, and observing the conduct of their enemies.

[a] *Appianus, in his first Book of the Wars of the Romans, says, that the Carthaginians sent back Xantippus in one of their Gallies, with great Presents; but that they order'd the Captain of the galley to cause him to be thrown overboard, at some distance from Carthage, with all the Lacedemonians who were with him.*

This will be eaſily own'd, if it be conſider'd, that the Romans did not begin to make any head againſt HANNIBAL, when they were in their prime bravery; for the moſt valiant perſons being loſt in battel, they had arm'd their Slaves, and made up Armies with unexperienc'd Soldiers. The truth is this, they never reduc'd him to ſtreights, till the Conſuls became more ſkilful, and the Romans in general knew better how to make war.

CHAP. V.

The Genius of the Romans, at the time when PYRRHUS *waged war againſt them.*

IT is not my intention to inlarge here upon the Wars of the Romans, which would be foreign to the ſubject I have propos'd to my ſelf: but I am of opinion, that to apprehend the true Genius of the times, we ſhould conſider in a People, the different affairs in which they were concern'd; and as thoſe of War are, without doubt, the moſt remarkable, ſo 'tis there men are particularly to be obſerv'd, ſince the diſpoſition of tempers, and good, as well as ill qualities, are there ſeen to the beſt advantage.

At the firſt ſetting up of the Commonwealth, the Roman people, as I have already obſerv'd, had ſomething of wildneſs in them: afterwards this wildneſs turn'd into auſterity; and at laſt became a rigid Virtue, far remote from politeneſs or agreeableneſs, but

but oppoſite to the leaſt appearance of corruption. Theſe were the manners of the Romans, when PYRRHUS paſſed into Italy to relieve the Tarentines. The ſcience of War was then but indifferent amongſt them; and that of other things altogether unknown. As for Arts, either they had none at all, or only ſuch as were very rude: they were not maſters of Invention, and no leſs ſtrangers to Induſtry; but there was a good order and diſcipline exactly obſerv'd among them, an admirable greatneſs of courage; and more integrity us'd with the Enemy, than is commonly practis'd with fellow Citizens. Juſtice, uprightneſs, and innocency, were common virtues: they were not unacquainted with Riches, but the uſe of them was prohibited among private men. Their diſintereſtedneſs went even to exceſs, every one making it a Duty to neglect their own affairs for the ſervice of the Publick; the zeal of which did then ſupply the room of every thing elſe.

After having ſpoken of theſe virtues, 'tis neceſſary to come to the Actions which made them known. A Prince is thought a man of honour, who by oppoſing force to force, employs nothing but open and lawful means to get rid of a formidable enemy. But to think our ſelves oblig'd to preſerve thoſe that are reſolved to ruin us, to ſecure them from the ſnares that are laid for them by others, and to ſave them from a domeſtick treaſon, is the effect of an unparallel'd Generoſity. Yet, behold one inſtance of this in the time I am ſpeaking of. The Romans being defeated by PYRRHUS, and in a doubtful ſtate, whether they ſhould retrieve their affairs, or be conſtrain'd to yield, had in their power the deſtruction of that Prince, and made the following uſe of it.

A Phyſician, in whom PYRRHUS repos'd great confidence, offer'd to FABRICIUS to poiſon his maſter, provided he might have a reward proportionable to the importance of the ſervice. FABRICIUS, ſurpriz'd with horror at ſo villainous a crime, immediately gives notice of it to the Senate; who deteſting, like the Conſul, ſo black an action, ſent to adviſe PYRRHUS to take ſpecial care of his perſon; adding, that 'twas the way of the Romans, to overcome by the bravery of their arms, and not to free themſelves of an Enemy by the Treaſon of his own people.

PYRRHUS, either ſenſible of the obligation, or aſtoniſh'd at this greatneſs of ſpirit, was more deſirous than ever to make a Peace: and to diſpoſe the Romans to receive it with the greater eaſineſs, he ſent them back two hundred Priſoners without ranſom; with preſents to the moſt conſiderable perſons, and to the Ladies; and neglected nothing, under a pretence of Gratitude, to introduce corruption amongſt them. The Romans, who preſerv'd PYRRHUS merely out of a principle of virtue, would receive nothing that carried the leaſt air of acknowledgment. They therefore ſent him an equal number of Priſoners; his preſents were refuſed by both ſexes; and all the anſwer he had, was, That they would never hearken to a Peace, till he quitted Italy.

Amongſt an infinite number of virtuous things, that were practiſed at this time, the great diſintereſtedneſs of FABRICIUS and CURIUS, who retir'd to a voluntary Poverty, are admir'd amongſt the reſt. 'Twould be a piece of injuſtice not to allow them the applauſe they deſerve: however, 'tis to be conſider'd, that it was more the general quality of the age, than a Virtue peculiar to theſe two men. And, in truth, ſince Riches were puniſh'd with diſgrace, and Poverty rewarded with honour,

honour, methinks there was ſome dexterity in knowing well how to be poor. By this means, they rais'd themſelves to the chiefeſt employments in the Republick; where, in the exerciſe of a great Power, they ſtood in greater want of moderation than patience. I cannot pity a Poverty honour'd and reſpected by all the world: it only wants ſuch things, which it is our Intereſt or our Pleaſure to be without. To ſpeak the truth, theſe ſorts of Privations are delicious; they afford the mind an exquiſite enjoyment of what the ſenſes are robb'd of.

But who can tell, whether FABRICIUS did not follow his own humour? There are ſome perſons that are perplex'd by a multitude and variety of ſuperfluities, who would quietly reliſh things convenient, and even be contented with neceſſaries. In the mean time, people that have but a falſe knowledge of things, admire the appearance of Moderation; whereas, if they had an exact judgment, they would ſoon diſcover it to proceed from the ſmall extent of a confin'd ſpirit, or the lazineſs of an unactive ſoul. With theſe perſons, to be content with a little, takes off rather from their pain than their pleaſure. Beſides, when it is not deſpicable to be poor, we want fewer things to live in poverty with ſatisfaction, than to live magnificently with riches. Can you imagine the condition of a Monk to be unhappy, when he is eſteem'd by his Order, and has ſome reputation in the world? he makes a vow of Poverty, which frees him from a thouſand cares, and leaves him nothing to deſire, that's conſiſtent with his profeſſion and way of living. Thoſe who live magnificently, for the moſt part, are the real Poor; they endeavour to get money on all hands with diſquiet and trouble, to maintain the pleaſures of others; and whilſt they laviſh their plenty, which ſtrangers enjoy more than themſelves, they are at home, ſenſible of their wants with their

Wives

Wives and Children; both by the importunity of unmerciful Duns, and by the miſerable ſtate of their affairs, which they ſee going to rack.

Let us return to our Romans, from whom we have inſenſibly digreſſed. Let who will admire the Poverty of FABRICIUS; for my part, I commend his Prudence, and think him very well adviſ'd, to have had but one Saltſeller of ſilver, ſince thereby he had credit enough to turn out of the Senate, a man [1] who had been twice Conſul, had triumph'd, and been Dictator, becauſe ſome marks of plate more [2] were found in his houſe. For, beſides that it was the humour of the time, the real Intereſt of every man, was, to have no other than that of the Republick.

Men eſtabliſh'd Society out of a motive of private intereſt; with a deſign to make life more pleaſant and ſecure in company, than when they were perpetually upon their guard in ſolitudes. Now, when they find, not only conveniency, but glory and authority in it, can they do better than devote themſelves wholly to the Publick, from whence they draw ſo many advantages?

The DECII, who ſacrific'd themſelves for the good of a Society, of which they were to be no longer members, ſeem to me downright Fanaticks: but the perſons we have been diſcourſing of, appear to have acted very rationally, in being ſo paſſionately concern'd for a grateful Republick, which was, at leaſt, as careful of their intereſt, as they could be of hers.

I look upon Rome, at this time, as a true religious Community, where every one diſpoſſeſſes himſelf of his private good, to find a greater in that of the Order he belongs to; but this temper ſubſiſts no

[1] *P. Cornelius Rufinus.*

[2] *Fifteen Marks of ſilver, that is, ſeven Pound and an half.*

no where but in ſmall States. In great ones, the very appearance of Poverty is contemn'd; nay, 'tis much, if the extravagant uſe of Riches is not approv'd of. Had FABRICIUS liv'd in the Grandeur of the Republick, either he muſt have chang'd his manners, or he had been uſeleſs to his country: and if the honeſt men of the latter time, had liv'd in that of FABRICIUS, either they had made their integrity more rigid, or they would have been expell'd the Senate, as corrupted Citizens.

Having thus ſpoken of the Romans, it will not be amiſs to ſay ſomething of PYRRHUS, who comes in here naturally enough, in ſo many reſpects. He was the moſt experienc'd Captain of his time, even in the opinion of HANNIBAL, who plac'd him immediately after ALEXANDER, and before himſelf, as it ſeems to me, out of modeſty. He join'd the dexterity of Negotiations, to the ſcience of War: but, nevertheleſs, he could never make a ſolid ſettlement for himſelf. If he knew how to gain Battles, he made no advantage of the War; if he engag'd Nations in his Alliance, he knew not how to preſerve them in it. His two bright talents, prepoſterouſly employ'd, ruin'd the deſigns of both.

When he had ſucceeded to his wiſh in the field, his thoughts were immediately bent to treat; and, as if he had acted in concert with his enemies, he ſtill obſtructed his own progreſs. Had he found means to win the affections of a Nation? his firſt thoughts were to ſubdue them. Hence it came to paſs, that he loſt his friends, without gaining his enemies: for, the conquer'd aſſum'd the ſpirit of the victors, and refus'd the Peace that was offer'd them; and the others, not only withdrew their aſſiſtance, but conſider'd how to get rid of an Ally, who ſhew'd himſelf a real Maſter.

A conduct ſo extraordinary, ought partly to be aſcrib'd to the diſpoſition of PYRRHUS, and partly to the different intereſts of his Miniſters. Amongſt the reſt, there were two men near his perſon, whoſe advice he generally follow'd, CINEAS and MILO. CINEAS, who was eloquent, ingenious, ſkill'd and dextrous in Negotiations, inſinuated the thoughts of Peace, every time that War came to be debated; and when the ambitious humour of PYRRHUS had prevail'd over his arguments, he patiently expected when difficulties would ariſe, and then managing the firſt uneaſineſs of his maſter, he preſently turn'd his inclinations to Peace, that ſo he might return to his proper talent, and put Affairs into his own hands.

MILO was a man experienc'd in War, and plac'd all his Confidence there; which made him endeavour, all that lay in his power, to hinder Treaties, or elſe to break them off. He ſtill adviſ'd to overcome all impediments; and if there was no ſubduing the Enemy, then by all means to enſlave the Allies.

As far as we may judge, at this diſtance, theſe were the rules by which PYRRHUS, as well as his Miniſters, acted. It may be ſaid in his favour, that he was engag'd with powerful Nations, who had more reſources than he; and tho he won battels by his valour, yet that ſo ſmall and weak a State, as his, would not afford him the means to carry on a long expenſive War. In ſhort, if we conſider both his perſonal qualities, and his performances, we ſhall find him to have been an admirable Prince, who yields, in no reſpect, to any of the Ancients: but to conſider, in general, the ſucceſs of his deſigns, and the iſſue of his affairs, he will often appear to have been unpolitick, and will loſe much of his reputation. And indeed, he poſſeſs'd himſelf of Macedonia, and was beaten out of it:

his

his beginnings in Italy were fortunate, but he was forced to quit it: he ſaw himſelf maſter of Sicily, but could not maintain himſelf there.

CHAP. VI.

Of the firſt Carthaginian War.

THE War of PYRRHUS open'd the mind of the Romans, and inſpir'd them with thoughts which they had not before entertain'd. To ſpeak the truth, they enter'd upon it very rude and preſumptuous, with a great deal of temerity and ignorance; but they ſhew'd an extraordinary virtue in the proſecution of it: and, as every thing was new to them with ſo experienc'd an Enemy, they became, without doubt, more induſtrious, and more ſkilful than they were before. They found out a way to ſecure themſelves from the Elephants, which, in the firſt engagement, put their Legions into diſorder; they learn'd to avoid the plains, and poſſeſs'd themſelves of advantageous poſts, againſt the Cavalry, which they had too fondly deſpis'd. They were at laſt inſtructed to form their Camp by that of PYRRHUS, after having admir'd the order and diſtinction of the Troops, which with them encamp'd in confuſion. As for natural parts, altho the Harangue of old APPIUS drove CINEAS from Rome, yet the Eloquence of CINEAS did not fail to pleaſe, and his addreſs was admir'd.

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The Preſents that were offer'd, tho they were refus'd, begot, nevertheleſs, a ſecret reverence for thoſe that could make them; and CURIUS, ſo much honour'd for his diſintereſted Virtue, was ſtill in greater credit, when he ſhew'd to the People, in his Triumph, Gold and Silver, Pictures and Statues. They were then ſenſible, that other places afforded things more excellent than Italy.

Thus new ideas form'd new minds, if I may ſo ſpeak; and the Roman People, taken with an unknown Magnificence, loſt thoſe old opinions, in which a habit of Poverty engag'd them no leſs than Virtue it ſelf.

Curioſity was now excited in the Citizens: Their hearts began to feel with emotion, what their eyes had begun to ſee with pleaſure; and when theſe motions were better underſtood, there appear'd real deſires for foreign things. Some private perſons did ſtill preſerve the antient Temperance, as it afterwards happen'd, even in the moſt corrupt times of the Republick; but, at laſt, there was a general deſire to croſs the ſeas, to ſettle in thoſe places where PYRRHUS found ſo much wealth. This it was, in ſhort, that gave birth to the firſt Carthaginian War: the Aſſiſtance given to the Tarentines was the Pretence of it, but the Conqueſt of Sicily the true Occaſion.

Having diſcover'd the motives that led the Romans to this War, it is neceſſary, in a few words, to ſhew what their Genius was at that time. Their principal qualities, in my judgment, were Courage and Reſolution; to undertake things of the greateſt difficulty; not to be frighted with any danger, nor diſcourag'd with any loſs. In all the reſt, the Carthaginians had infinitely the ſuperiority over them; whether by their induſtry, or by their experience at ſea, or elſe by their wealth, which the trade of the whole world afforded them; when the Romans,

Romans, who were of themſelves but poor, had exhauſted their treaſure in the Wars of PYRRHUS.

To ſpeak the truth, the Virtue of the latter, ſupply'd the room of all things. A good Succeſs encourag'd them to the purſuit of a greater; and a croſs event only ſerv'd to exaſperate them the more. It happened directly otherwiſe in the Affairs of the Carthaginians, who grew remiſs in good fortune, and were eaſily dejected in adverſity. Beſides the different Temper of theſe two Nations, the different Conſtitution of the Republicks contributed much to it. Carthage was eſtabliſhed upon Commerce, and Rome founded upon Arms. The firſt employed Strangers in their Wars, and Citizens in their Traffick: the other got Citizens out of all Nations, and Soldiers out of their Citizens. The Romans breath'd after nothing but War; even thoſe that went not actually into the field, had their inclinations there; either as having been in the ſervice before, or becauſe they knew they muſt, at one time or another, go into it.

At Carthage they always demanded Peace upon the leaſt danger that threatned them; as well to get rid of Foreigners, as to return to their Trade. We may yet add this difference, That the Carthaginians never did any thing that was great, but by the Valour of private perſons; whereas the Roman People often recover'd by their Conſtancy, what the imprudence or cowardiſe of their Generals had loſt. All theſe things conſidered, we need not wonder to ſee the Romans remain victorious, for they had all the principal qualities which render one People maſter of another.

As the proſpect of riches made the Romans deſirous of ſubduing Sicily, ſo the Conqueſt of Sicily made them deſirous to enjoy thoſe riches which they had acquired. The Peace with the Carthaginians,

after ſo bloody a War, inſpired a ſpirit of Repoſe, and that repoſe produced the reliſh of Pleaſures. Then it was that the Romans introduced the firſt Compoſitions of the Theatre, and exerted their firſt Magnificence. They began to have a curioſity for Shews, and an affection for Pleaſures.

Law-Suits, altho they are diſturbers of joy, began to increaſe; every one having recourſe to the publick Juſtice, as that of private perſons was corrupted.

Intemperance occaſion'd new diſtempers, and Phyſicians were introduced to cure diſeaſes; from which, Continence had ſecured the ancient Romans.

Avarice put them upon little Wars, and weakneſs made them apprehenſive of great ones. If neceſſity oblig'd them to undertake any that was conſiderable, it was begun with reluctancy, and they were glad when it was ended.

They demanded of the Carthaginians money which they ow'd not, when they were employ'd in the reduction of their own Rebels; but they uſed all imaginable precaution not to break with them, when their affairs were a little mended.

Thus ſometimes injuries, ſometimes other conſiderations, always either ſpite or fear, were the cauſe of their Wars; and certainly we may ſay, that the Romans knew not how to live, either as friends or enemies; for, they affronted the Carthaginians, yet ſuffered them to recover breath, and gave cauſe enough for a new War, which yet of all things they dreaded moſt.

A Conduct ſo uncertain, degenerated into a downright Careleſneſs; and they ſuffer'd the Saguntines to be deſtroyed with ſo much diſgrace, that their Ambaſſadors were ſhamefully treated for it by the Spaniards and Gauls, after the ruin of that miſerable People. This Contempt of their neighbouring Nations,

Nations, with which they were nettled, awaked them out of this drouſineſs; and the march of HANNIBAL into Italy, revived their ancient vigour. They made war for ſome time with much incapacity, and a great Courage; afterwards with more experience and leſs reſolution. At laſt, the loſs of the Battle of Cannæ, made them retrieve their Virtue and Courage; or to ſpeak better, excited a new one, which raiſed 'em above themſelves.

CHAP. VII.

Of the ſecond Punick War.

TO ſee the Republick in the full extent of her Virtue, we muſt conſider her in the ſecond War of Carthage. She had before more Auſterity; after that more Grandeur; but never ſuch real Merit, as in this period of time. When ſhe was engaged in other extremities, her Security was owing to the boldneſs, valour, or capacity of ſome particular Citizen. Perhaps, had it not been for BRUTUS, there would have been no Commonwealth. If MANLIUS had not defended the Capitol; if CAMILLUS had not come to reſcue it, the Romans, who could ſcarcely call themſelves free, would have fallen under the Servitude of the Gauls.

But here the Roman People maintain'd the Roman People; here the univerſal Genius of the Nation, preſerved the Nation; here good order, reſolution, and a general zeal for the Publick Good, ſaved Rome when ſhe was ready to fall, by the

blunders and undiſcreet conduct of her Generals.

After the Battle of Cannæ, where any other State had yielded to its ill fortune, there was not the leaſt ſign of weakneſs amongſt the people, not a thought but what tended to the good of the Commonwealth. All orders, all ranks, all conditions voluntarily exhauſted their treaſure: the Romans gave up with pleaſure the moſt valuable things they poſſeſs'd, and kept with regret what they were oblig'd to keep for their bare uſe. To retain the leaſt, was a point of honour; to reſerve the moſt in houſes, a kind of diſgrace. When they debated about creating Magiſtrates, the youth, who for the moſt part are prepoſſeſſed in favour of themſelves, conſulted with docility the wiſdom of the more ancient, to give their votes with more diſcretion.

As they wanted old Soldiers in this exigence of State, ſo for the raiſing of new ones they made their Slaves free; and theſe Slaves becoming Romans, were animated by the ſame ſpirit with their Maſters, to defend the ſame Liberty. But behold a greatneſs of Courage, which ſurpaſſes all other qualities, let 'em be never ſo noble. It happens ſometimes in an eminent danger, that perſons of no extraordinary prudence, are obſerved to take good reſolutions; and that the moſt intereſted perſons, contribute largely to the Publick Good, when by taking other meaſures, they are afraid to ruin themſelves with the Publick: but perhaps it never happened before, that people took an equal care of their Affairs both abroad and at home, in ſuch preſſing extremities; and I find nothing ſo much to be admired in the Romans, as to ſee them ſend Troops into Sicily and Spain, with the ſame care as they did againſt HANNIBAL.

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Overwhelmed with ſo many loſſes, exhauſted of men and money, they divided their laſt reſources between the Defence of Rome, and the Preſervation of their Conqueſts. A people ſo magnanimous, thought it as elegible to periſh as to decline; and to be no more, was looked upon as an indifferent thing, when they could no longer be maſters of others. Tho Self-preſervation be ever advantageous, yet I reckon it amongſt the chief pre-eminences of the Romans, that they owed their ſafety to their conſtancy, and the greatneſs of their courage. It was alſo happy for them, that they changed their Genius ſince the War of PYRRHUS; that they had left off that extraordinary Diſintereſtedneſs, and that ambitious Poverty which I mention'd before; otherwiſe Rome had not been able to maintain it ſelf.

It was neceſſary the Citizens ſhould have ability, as well as zeal, to aſſiſt the Commonwealth. If ſhe had not been in a capacity to relieve her Allies, ſhe had been abandoned by them. The Speech of the Conſul, who thought to move the pity of the Deputies of Capua, did but excite their infidelity. The Senate, much wiſer, took a quite different courſe; ſent men and proviſions to the Allies, who ſtood in want of them; and of all the ſuccours which they of Naples came to offer, they accepted nothing but corn, which they paid for.

But notwithſtanding ſo much Reſolution and Wiſdom, the Republick of Rome had unavoidably periſh'd, if Carthage had taken any of thoſe meaſures to deſtroy it, which the Romans took to preſerve it. Whilſt, on one ſide, Thanks were voted to a Conſul who had fled[1], becauſe he did not deſpair of

[1] *Terentius Varro, who gave the Battle of Canna, againſt the advice of his Colleague L. Æmil. Paulus, and loſt it.*

the Commonwealth, victorious HANNIBAL was accuſed at Carthage. HANNO could not forgive him the advantages of a War, which he had diſſuaded: and as he was more jealous of the honour of his own opinion, than the good of the State; and more an enemy to the Carthaginian General, than to the Romans, he omitted nothing that might obſtruct the ſucceſſes they had a proſpect of, or deſtroy thoſe already obtained. One would have taken HANNO for an Ally of the Roman People, who looked upon HANNIBAL as the common enemy. When the latter ſent for a new Supply of men and money to maintain the Army, *What would he demand*, ſaid HANNO, *if he had loſt the Battle? No, no, Gentlemen, either he's an impoſtor, that amuſes us with falſe news, or a publick robber, that enriches himſelf with the ſpoils of the Romans, and the advantages of the War.* This oppoſition did, at leaſt, retard the Supplies; tho it could not hinder the reſolution of ſending them: and they executed ſlowly what had been reſolv'd upon with difficulty. The Supplies being at laſt prepared, it was a long time before they were ſent away; and then orders were given to ſtop them in Spain, inſtead of haſtening them into Italy. Thus the Recruits arrived very late, and when they came to join HANNIBAL, which was a miracle, he received them ſickly, and haraſſed, and after the ſeaſon for action was over.

This General was almoſt continually deſtitute of Money and Proviſions; reduced to the neceſſity of being eternally ſucceſsful in War; having no Reſource upon any misfortune; and a great deal of perplexity even upon good ſucceſs, when he found not wherewith to maintain different Nations, who rather followed his perſon, than depended on the Commonwealth of Carthage.

To keep ſo many different people in order, he added to his natural Severity an artificial Cruelty; which made him dreaded by ſome, whilſt his virtue gain'd him a veneration from others. I own, he uſed no great violence upon his temper; for being naturally ſomewhat cruel, he found himſelf in ſuch circumſtances, that it was neceſſary for him to be ſo. However, his Intereſt was ſometimes the rule of his Cruelty; and even inclin'd him to Clemency: for he knew how to be gracious and merciful when his affairs requíred; and his Policy ever prevailed over his Nature.

He made war upon the Romans with all manner of ſeverity, but treated their Confederates with much civility and courteſy; hoping by this means to deſtroy the firſt abſolutely, and to draw off the others from their Alliance: a conduct extremely different from that of PYRRHUS, who reſerved all his civility for the Romans, and his ill uſage for his Allies.

When I conſider that HANNIBAL removed out of Spain, where he left nothing behind him well ſecured; that he croſs'd the Country of the Gauls, whom he ought to have accounted his enemies; that he paſſed the Alps to make war againſt the Romans, who had expell'd the Carthaginians out of Sicily: when I conſider, that in Italy he had neither garriſons, magazines, nor any certain ſupplies, or hopes of retreat, I am aſtoniſhed at the boldneſs of his deſign. But when I conſider his valour and his conduct, I admire nothing but HANNIBAL, and I eſteem him yet ſuperior to the undertaking.

The French particularly admire the War of the Gauls, both for the Reputation of CESAR, and becauſe the ſcene of it lying in their own Country, it affects them with a more lively Idea than any. However, to ſpeak impartially, it falls infinitely ſhort of HANNIBAL's Actions in Italy. Had

CESAR found amongſt the Gauls, that Union and Bravery, which the other did amongſt the Romans, he had made over them but ſmall Conqueſts; for it muſt be acknowledged, that HANNIBAL met with very great difficulties, without reckoning thoſe he carried with him. The only advantage on which he could reaſonably depend, was the goodneſs of his Troops, and his own perſonal Ability.

It is certain, that the Romans had gain'd a great ſuperiority over the Carthaginians in the Sicilian War; but Peace having made them disband their Army, they inſenſibly loſt their vigour; whilſt their adverſaries, who were employ'd in Spain and Africk, ſtill kept their valour in uſe, and acquired new experience.

Thus HANNIBAL came with an old body to attack Italy; which the Romans were obliged to defend with an old reputation, more than old troops. As for the Roman Generals, they were certainly perſons of great Courage, who thought they ſhould injure the glory of their Commonwealth, if they did not give battle upon the firſt offer of the enemy.

HANNIBAL made it his particular ſtudy to know their Genius, and obſerv'd nothing ſo much, as the humour and conduct of each Conſul that was to oppoſe him. Thus, by provoking the fiery temper of SEMPRONIUS, he knew how to dare him to fight, and gain the Battle of Trebia. The Defeat of Thraſimene was owing to a Stratagem of the like nature.

Being acquainted with the haughty ſpirit of FLAMINIUS, he burn'd before his eyes the Villages of his Allies, and ſo critically provok'd his natural temerity, that the Conſul not only took a reſolution to fight at an unſeaſonable time, but engag'd himſelf in ſome Defilees, where he unhappily loſt his Army, together with his life. As FABIUS

BIUS went upon a different method of acting, ſo the conduct of HANNIBAL was entirely oppoſite.

After the Battle of Thraſimene, the Roman People created a Dictator, and a General of the Horſe. The Dictator was QUINTUS FABIUS, a man wiſe and ſlow, who plac'd the only hope of ſafety in caution, from which ſecurity may, indeed, reſult. Conſidering in what a poſture their Affairs were, he thought there was no difference between fighting, and being beaten: ſo that he aim'd at nothing but to give freſh ſpirit to the Army; and as he did not entertain the hopes of Victory, he thought he ſhould act prudently enough, if he could but contrive to prevent his being overcome.

MARCUS MINUTIUS was General of the Horſe, a man violent, raſh, vain in diſcourſe, and daring, as well upon the ſcore of his ignorance, as his courage. This perſon plac'd the intereſt of the State in the reputation of affairs, and imagin'd that the Republick could not ſubſiſt, if it did not blot out the diſgrace of paſt defeats, by ſome glorious action. He was for grandeur, when there was a neceſſity for prudence; for glory, when ſafety was in queſtion.

HANNIBAL ſoon found out theſe different humours, not only by the reports that were made him, but by his own obſervations; for many days ſucceſſively he offer'd Battle to FABIUS, who was ſo far from accepting it, that he would not permit a ſingle man to ſtir out of his Camp. MINUTIUS, on the contrary, took the artificial Bravadoes of the Enemy, for ſo many affronts; and made the Dictator paſs for a weak man, or at leaſt for one that was inſenſible of the diſgrace of the Romans.

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HANNIBAL being inform'd of theſe diſcourſes, endeavour'd to increaſe the opinion of fear and weakneſs, which was attributed to FABIUS. He burnt, in his view, the fineſt Country in Italy, in order either to draw him to fight, which he was not able to effect; or, at leaſt, to blemiſh his reputation, in which he did not want ſucceſs. Nay, he begot a ſuſpicion, that there was a ſecret combination between them, by ſparing his Lands with great care, amidſt the general deſolation of the Country.

But this is but one part of his Artifices. Whilſt he labour'd to ruin the reputation of FABIUS, who gave him ſome trouble, he omitted nothing to raiſe that of MINUTIUS, in whom he wiſh'd the Command, or at leaſt a larger power in the army. Sometimes, he pretended to be afraid of him, when he ſhew'd all manner of contempt for the other. Sometimes, after a ſmall Engagement with him, he retir'd firſt, and let him obtain ſome trifling advantage; which advanc'd his credit with the Romans, and ſo prepar'd him to fall by an inconſiderate confidence. In ſhort, he was ſo dextrous in running down the conduct of the Dictator, and in raiſing the credit of the General of the Horſe, that the Command was divided, and the Troops ſhar'd between them, which was never done before. One would think, that Rome acted by the advice of her enemy: for, in truth, ſo extraordinary a Decree, was the pure effect of his contrivance and deſign.

Hereupon the Vanity of MINUTIUS had no bounds: he contemn'd, with equal imprudence, FABIUS and HANNIBAL, declaring nothing leſs, than that he alone would beat all Foreigners out of Italy. He therefore would needs form a ſeparate Camp; of which HANNIBAL was no ſooner ſenſible, but he approach'd with his: in fine, not to amuſe my ſelf with deſcribing the particulars of every action,

action, MINUTIUS was engag'd in a Battle, wherein he was defeated.

This was the behaviour of HANNIBAL, during the Dictatorship of FABIUS, and his conduct was much the same, with the Consuls that gave him battle at Cannæ. 'Tis true indeed, there was no necessity for so politick a Conduct. The Wisdom of PAULUS, was less troublesom to him than that of FABIUS; and the presumptuous ignorance of TERENTIUS, hurried him fast enough to his own ruin.

The Reader will admire, perhaps, that I have dwelt so long upon an affair, which only ends in the Defeat of MINUTIUS, and that I do but cursorily mention that great and famous Battle of Cannæ: but my Design is rather to make the Genius of Men known, than to describe Battles. And as the judicious are better pleas'd by contemplating CESAR in the War of PETREIUS and AFRANIUS, than in his most shining Actions; I imagin'd, that we ought to consider HANNIBAL more curiously, in an Affair which was entirely manag'd by Policy, than in that great and fortunate Success, which the imprudence of TERENTIUS gave him without much difficulty.

However, it must be confess'd, That never was a Battle so entirely won; and that very day had, in a manner, been the Romans last, if HANNIBAL had not chose rather to enjoy the sweets of the Victory, than to pursue its advantages.

He, who by his Policy made others guilty of so many mistakes, betrays here the weakness of human nature, and cannot preserve himself from failing. He shew'd himself invincible in the greatest difficulties, but could not resist the allurements of his good fortune; and suffer'd himself to yield to ease, when a little action would have fix'd him in a state of repose for all the remainder of his life.

If

If you inquire into the reaſon of it; 'tis becauſe every thing hath bounds in Man: patience, courage, reſolution, wear out at laſt.

HANNIBAL can fatigue no more, becauſe he has fatigu'd too much; and his conſummate Virtue finds it ſelf without reſource in the midſt of Victory. The remembrance of paſt Difficulties gives him a proſpect of new ones; his mind, which ought to have been full of hopes, nay, almoſt aſſurance, is now taken up with fear of the future: he conſiders, when he ſhould be bold; he conſults, when he ſhould be active; he gives reaſons for the Romans, when he ought to have put his own counſels in execution.

As the faults of great men have always ſome pretences to excuſe them, ſo HANNIBAL did not fail to repreſent to himſelf very ſpecious reaſons: "That his Army, tho invincible in the field, was "yet by no means fit for ſieges; having no good "Infantry, no engines, no money, no certain ſub-"ſiſtence: That by reaſon of theſe defects, he had "attack'd Spoletum to no purpoſe, after the ſuc-"ceſs at Thraſimene, as victorious as he was: "That a little before the Battle of Cannæ, he had "been obliged to raiſe the Siege of a town, of no "name or ſtrength: That to beſiege Rome, fur-"niſh'd with every thing, was the direct way to "loſe the reputation he had gained; and to de-"ſtroy an Army, which alone made him to be con-"ſider'd: That therefore it was moſt adviſeable, to "let the Romans, coopt up within their own walls, "fall inſenſibly of themſelves; and in the mean "time to go and poſſeſs himſelf of ſome places "near the Sea, where he might receive Recruits "from Carthage with convenience; and where it "would be eaſy to ſettle the moſt conſiderable "Power of Italy." Theſe were the reaſons, which

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HANNIBAL adapted to the diſpoſition he found himſelf in, and which would not have affected him in his firſt heats.

In vain did MAHARBAL promiſe him to ſup in the Capitol; his own reflections, which had nothing but the air of wiſdom, and a falſe reaſoning, made him reject, as unadviſed, a confidence ſo well grounded. He had purſu'd violent counſels, when he began a war with the Romans, and he is now kept back by an unſeaſonable circumſpection, when he is upon the point of making an end of all.

It is certain that men of too refin'd Policy, as HANNIBAL was, are apt to create difficulties in undertakings, and ſtop themſelves by obſtacles, which proceed more from their own imagination than the thing it ſelf.

There is a critical point in the declenſion of States, where their ruin would be unavoidable, if one knew how eaſy it were to deſtroy them: but for want of a clear foreſight, or a ſufficient courage, men are content with a little, when they might do more; making either the meanneſs of ſpirit, or the want of greatneſs in the ſoul, to paſs for prudence.

In theſe conjunctures, a man is not the inſtrument of his own preſervation; 'tis his old reputation purely that maintains him in the imagination of his enemies, when his real forces have abandon'd him. Thus, HANNIBAL repreſents to his view a power which is no more. He entertains a fantaſtical idea of dead Soldiers and diſſipated Legions, as if he were to fight and defeat what he had already defeated.

And

And certainly the confuſion was not leſs at Rome after the Battle of Cannæ, than heretofore after the Defeat of Allia[1]: but inſtead of approaching a City which he would have ſtruck with terrour, he removes at a diſtance from it, as if he had a mind to hearten it, and give the Magiſtrates time to repair their loſſes at their leiſure. He was ſo unadviſed as to attack the Allies, who would have fallen with Rome, and maintain'd themſelves by her with more eaſe, than ſhe could have maintain'd her ſelf.

This was the firſt and great omiſſion of HANNIBAL, which was alſo the firſt reſource of the Romans. When their conſternation was over, their courage increas'd, as their forces grew leſs; whereas the Carthaginians loſt their vigour, as their power increas'd.

Now, if we ſhould inquire into the cauſe of all their misfortunes, there may be aſſign'd two eſſential ones: the careleſneſs of Carthage, which ſuffer'd good ſucceſſes to fall to nothing, for want of ſupplies; and HANNIBAL's precipitate deſign to put an end to his labours, before he had ended the war.

After he had taſted repoſe, it was not long before he was inclin'd to taſte delights; and he was the more eaſily inchanted by them, as they were altogether unknown to him.

A man that knows how to mix Pleaſures with Buſineſs, is never intirely poſſeſſed by them: he either quits, or reſumes them at his will; and in the uſe he makes of them, rather finds a relaxation of mind, than a dangerous charm that might corrupt him.

[1] *A River within three or four leagues of Rome, near which the Romans were defeated by the Gauls. The latter made themſelves maſters of the City, but could not force the Capitol, whither part of the Roman Youth retir'd. See* Livy, *Decad* I. *Book* V.

him. It is not ſo with thoſe auſtere perſons, who, by an alteration of temper, come to taſte of Voluptuouſneſs: they are immediately inchanted with its ſweetneſs, and have nothing but an averſion for the ſeverities of their paſt life. Nature, in them, being wearied with inconveniences and pains, abandons it ſelf to the firſt delights that come in its way: then, what appear'd virtuous, preſents it ſelf with a groſs and moroſe air; and the ſoul, which imagines it ſelf to be undeceiv'd of an old error, has a complacency in its new affection for things agreeable.

Thus it far'd with HANNIBAL and his Army, which did not fail to imitate him in remiſſneſs, as they had all along done it in fatigues.

There was nothing then but Bathing, Feſtivals, Amours, and Paſſions. Diſcipline was no longer obſerv'd, either by him who ought to have given orders, or by thoſe that ſhould have put them in execution. When there was a neceſſity to go into the field, Glory and Intereſt excited HANNIBAL, who reaſſum'd his former vigour, and found himſelf again; but he found no more the ſame Army. There was nothing elſe but ſoftneſs and effeminacy. If they were forc'd to undergo the leaſt want, they regretted the plenty of Capua. Their thoughts ran upon their Miſtreſſes, when they were to meet the Enemy: they languiſh'd and melted with the tenderneſs of Love, when there was need of action and fierceneſs for Battle. HANNIBAL omitted nothing that might excite their Courage, ſometimes by reviving the remembrance of a valour which they had loſt; ſometimes by the ſhame of reproaches, of which they were inſenſible.

In the mean while, the Roman Generals became every day more ſkilful and experienc'd: the Legions gain'd daily advantages over effeminate Troops; and there came from Carthage, no Sup-

plies ſufficient to give freſh ſpirit to ſo languiſhing an Army. But the more reſolution HANNIBAL found amongſt the enemies, the leſs aſſiſtance he receiv'd from his own men; and the more he was oblig'd to depend upon himſelf. It is not credible with what valour he maintain'd himſelf in Italy, which the Romans could not make him quit, till they forc'd the Carthaginians to recall him. The latter being defeated and driven out of Spain, beaten and undone in Africk, had recourſe to HANNIBAL for their laſt refuge. He obey'd the Orders of his Country, with the ſame ſubmiſſion, that the meaneſt citizen could have done: and he was no ſooner arriv'd, but he found Affairs in a deſperate poſture.

SCIPIO, who had beheld the calamities of his Republick, under unfortunate Generals, now commanded the forces of it in a proſperous condition, which was purely owing to himſelf. As for HANNIBAL, he had nothing but the remembrance of his good fortune, which he had ill uſed; but, however, he was not in the leaſt wanting to ſupport the bad. The former, whoſe natural confidence was ſtill buoy'd up by the preſent fortunate poſture of his affairs, was at the head of an Army, which doubted not of victory: the latter, increas'd his natural diſtruſt by the miſerable condition he ſaw his Country reduc'd to, and by the ill opinion he had of his Soldiers.

Theſe different ſituations of mind made Peace to be offered, and rejected; after which, every one's thoughts were intent upon Battle. On the day it was fought, HANNIBAL ſurpaſs'd himſelf, whether by taking all advantages, diſpoſing his Army, or giving orders in the fight; but at length the Genius of Rome prevailed over that of Carthage, and the Defeat of the Carthaginians yielded the Empire of the World for ever to the Romans.

As for the General, he was admir'd by SCIPIO, who, in the midſt of his Glory, ſeem'd to envy the capacity of the vanquiſhed; and the vanquiſhed, whoſe humour was far enough from vain oſtentation, thought he had always ſome ſuperiority in the Science of War: for, diſcourſing one day with SCIPIO, concerning the great Generals, he placed ALEXANDER the firſt, PYRRHUS the ſecond, and himſelf the third; to which SCIPIO coldly, *And if you had conquered me*, ſaid he, *in what rank would you have placed your ſelf? The firſt of all*, replied HANNIBAL.

'Tis certain, that his ſkill in War was admirable, and thoſe illuſtrious Conquerors, who have left ſo great a name to poſterity, came not near him for induſtry, both in bringing together and maintaining Armies.

ALEXANDER paſſed into Aſia with Macedonians who obey'd their King. If he had but little money and proviſions, the Battles he gain'd ſoon furniſh'd him with plenty of all: a City taken or ſurrender'd, gave him the treaſures of DARIUS, who became neceſſitous in his own Country, in proportion as ALEXANDER poſſeſſed the riches of it. SCIPIO, whom I mentioned before, made war in Spain and Africk, with thoſe very Legions which the Republick both levied and maintain'd. CESAR had the ſame advantages towards the Conqueſt of Gaul, and made uſe of the forces and money of the Commonwealth to enſlave it.

As for our HANNIBAL, to a little Body of Carthaginians, he joined ſeveral Nations, which he kept together merely by his own intereſt, and by whom he made himſelf obey'd, tho he laboured under a continual want of proviſions and money. What's yet more extraordinary, Victories made him not the eaſier, and he was almoſt as much ſtraitned

after the gaining of them, as he was before. But if he had talents which the others had not, ſo was he guilty of a fault, which, in all probability, they would not have committed.

ALEXANDER was ſo far from leaving things done by halves, that he always went farther, even when they were compleated. He was not ſatisfied with ſubduing the great Empire of DARIUS, to the very leaſt province; his ambition carried him to the Indies, when he might have reconciled (what ſeldom happens) his Glory and Repoſe, and have enjoy'd his Conqueſts in peace.

SCIPIO did not think of eaſe, before he had reduced Carthage, and eſtabliſhed the Roman affairs of Africk. And one of the great commendations which is given to CESAR, is, *That he thought nothing was done, while there remained any thing to do:*

Nil actum credens, dùm quid ſupereſſet agendum.
LUCAN. *Pharſal.* Lib. II. ver. 657.

As often as I reflect upon this miſcarriage of HANNIBAL, I cannot forbear thinking, that men do not ſufficiently conſider, of how vaſt importance a good Reſolution is in great Affairs. The marching immediately to Rome, after the Battle of Cannæ, draws after it the deſtruction of that City, and the grandeur of Carthage; the not marching thither, is, in time, attended with the ruin of the Carthaginians, and the univerſal Empire of the Romans.

I have ſeen a Reſolution taken, which would have inevitably occaſioned the loſs of a great State. I ſaw by a happy change, a contrary one taken the ſame day, which proved its ſecurity; but it gave leſs Reputation to the Author of ſo good advice, than the Defeat of five hundred Horſe, or the taking

king an inconſiderable Town would have done [2]. Theſe laſt events ſtrike the eyes or imagination of all the World: but Judgment is hardly admir'd by any, becauſe 'tis known but by reflections, which few people are able to make. Let's return to HANNIBAL.

If the trade of War, as glittering a figure as it makes, merited only our regard, I don't ſee one of the Antients, who can reaſonably be preferr'd to him: but it does not follow, that he who knows it beſt, is neceſſarily the greateſt man. Juſtice, magnanimity, greatneſs of ſoul, a diſintereſted integrity, and an univerſal capacity, make up the better part of thoſe great men.

To know barely how to ſlaughter men; to be better ſkill'd than others in laying waſte human Society, and deſtroying Nature, is to excel in a very fatal Science. The application of this Science ought to be juſt, or at leaſt honourable: it ſhould turn, if poſſible, to the good of thoſe whom it has ſubdu'd; but always to the intereſt of one's Country, or the neceſſity of a private advantage. When it is govern'd by a capricious humour, and ſubſervient to irregularity and fury; when its end is to oppreſs the world, then that Glory which is aſcrib'd

[2] *As I was, one day, reading this paſſage with M. de St. Evremond, I deſir'd him to give me an account of the two* Reſolutions *he mentions here; and he told me the following particulars.* "The Court, *ſaid he*, being at Pontoiſe, (in 1652), and Cardinal Mazarin, conſidering that the Prince of Condé was "not far off; that Fuenſaldagne advanc'd with 25000 men, "and the Duke of Lorain with 12000, reſolv'd to engage the "King to retire into Burgundy, not thinking him ſafe in Paris. "The Viſcount of Turenne was not then in Council; but being inform'd of this Reſolution, he immediately repair'd thither, and told the Miniſters, that if the King quitted Paris, "he would never enter it again; and that they ought either to "vanquiſh or die: which oblig'd the Council to alter their Reſolution.

to it, ſhould be taken away, and it ought to be as ignominious as it is unjuſt. Now 'tis certain, that HANNIBAL had but few Virtues, and many Vices: infidelity, covetouſneſs, a cruelty oftentimes neceſſary, but always natural, were the chief ingredients of his compoſition.

Beſides, people judge, for the moſt part, by the Succeſs, whatever is the opinion of the wiſer ſort. Let a Man ſhew all the good conduct that is poſſible; if the event does not anſwer, ill fortune paſſes for a fault, and is juſtified but by a very few perſons. Thus, for inſtance; That HANNIBAL made war better than the Romans, and was undone by the ill management of his own Republick; whereas the Romans became victorious by the good order of theirs; is a conſideration which falls not within the reach of many people. But that he was defeated by SCIPIO, and that the ruin of Carthage was the conſequence of his Defeat, is a thing fully known, and 'tis from hence that the univerſal opinion of all Nations has been form'd.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Genius of the Romans, towards the end of the ſecond War of Carthage.

UPON the concluſion of ſo great and ſo long a War, there aroſe a certain ſpirit unknown till then in the Commonwealth. Not but that there

had been frequent Seditions before. For the Senate had more than once endeavour'd to oppreſs the People; and the People offer'd violence to the Senate: but ſtill men acted on theſe occaſions by a publick Principle, regarding the Power of theſe as a Tyranny, which ruin'd freedom; and the Liberty of the other, as a licentiouſneſs which would end in confuſion.

But men now began to ſeparate their private from the publick Intereſt. The bonds of Society, which were thought ſo agreeable before, ſeem'd at this time to be troubleſom chains; and every one growing uneaſy under the Laws, had a mind to reaſſume his primitive right of diſpoſing of himſelf, and in this choice to follow the motions of his own will.

As the diſguſt of Subjection had been the occaſion of turning out the Kings, and diſpoſed the People to the eſtabliſhment of Liberty; ſo the diſguſt of the ſame Liberty, which they found troubleſom to maintain, diſpos'd their minds to particular dependencies.

Their love for their Country, and their zeal for the Publick Good, were exhauſted in the ſtreſs of the War againſt HANNIBAL, where the affection and virtue of the Citizens went beyond the expectation of the Republick. Men had ſpent their blood and treaſure for the Publick, which was not yet in a capacity to give any recompence to private men. The ſeverities even of the Senate, had increas'd that of the Laws on ſome occaſions; and the rigour which had been uſed towards the Priſoners that were taken at the Battle of Cannæ affected every body very ſenſibly: but People ſuffer'd it patiently, at a time when they thought it was their common intereſt to endure all things. So ſoon as they had leſs to fear, they thought the neceſſity of ſuffering was at an end; and every one having ex-

hauſted their ſtock of docility and patience, before the concluſion of their misfortunes, they bore with reluctancy, what they imagin'd was impoſed upon them without neceſſity, by the ſole pleaſure of the Magiſtrates.

'Twas thus that the firſt diſguſts were form'd, from whence it came to paſs, that men left the Republick, to cultivate their own private Intereſt; ſought new engagements in Society, and choſe amongſt themſelves ſuch perſons, as moſt deſerved their affections.

In this diſpoſition of mind, SCIPIO preſented himſelf to the Romans, with all the qualities that may gain the eſteem and favour of men. He was nobly deſcended, and in him ſhone with equal luſtre the goodneſs and charms of an excellent natural diſpoſition. He had an admirable greatneſs of Soul, and a ſweet, affable, and beneficent temper; he was vehement and earneſt to inſpire his reſolution and confidence in publick; polite and agreeable in private converſation, for the moſt refined pleaſure of friendſhip; his ſoul was lofty, but ſerene; more ſenſible of glory than ambitious of power. He ſought leſs to diſtinguiſh himſelf by authority, or the ſplendor of fortune, than by the difficulties of his undertakings, and the merit of his actions. Add to ſo many things, that in him, happy ſucceſſes always anſwered high deſigns; and to crown all, he had poſſeſs'd the people with an opinion, That he ſet about nothing without the advice, and never acted without the aſſiſtance of the Gods.

'Tis no wonder, that ſuch a man as I have here deſcribed, ſhould attract the affections of the People, which they were ready enough to give him of themſelves, and diſengage many from a Republick, for which they had already entertain'd a diſguſt.

Thus

Thus the will of a perſon ſo virtuous, was preferr'd to Laws, which perhaps were not ſo equitable.

As for SCIPIO, he uſed all the engaging ways of Humanity and Affability; and laying aſide the priſtine ſeverity of Diſcipline, he commanded with gentleneſs, troops that obey'd him with affection.

[*I know very well, that ſome Seditions that happen'd in his Camp are aſcrib'd to his eaſineſs: but, if I dare adventure to ſay it, 'twas a misfortune almoſt neceſſary at that time. 'Twas a new ſpirit in the Republick, which was prejudicial to the Government; yet, without this ſpirit, the Commonwealth would have been ruin'd, and SCIPIO alone was capable to inſpire it. 'Twas not ſufficient to maintain order among the Citizens, according to the Genius of their antient Legiſlators; there was alſo need of that of a Hero of leſs ſevere Virtues, to animate deſponding Soldiers againſt HANNIBAL, and give them the confidence of being able to overcome. The affairs of Rome were ſo deſperate, that nothing leſs than heroical qualities, and the opinion of divine aſſiſtance, could have retrieved them.]

'Tis certain, that never had any Roman General ſhewn ſo great a capacity, nor managed affairs ſo well; never were Legions ſo zealous to behave themſelves gallantly, and never was Commonwealth ſo well ſerved, tho by a Principle different from that of the Commonwealth.

FABIUS and CATO[2], were ſenſible of this evil, and omitted nothing to hinder the ill effects of it. But in truth, they mixed the ſourneſs of their paſſions with it; and the envy they bore to this great

* *This paſſage, and another which will be found a little lower, both between Crotchets, are taken out of a Manuſcript which was left in the hands of Mr. Waller.* See the Life of M. de St. Evremond.

[2] *The Cenſor.*

Man, had as great a ſhare in their oppoſitions, as their jealouſy of Liberty.

That which is extraordinary, the corrupter remain'd a good man amongſt thoſe whom he corrupted, and acted more nobly than thoſe who oppoſed the corruption. And, indeed, he made all things ſubſervient to the advantage of the Commonwealth, from which he had brought off others; and was only guilty of ſerving it with the ſame qualities with which he might have ruin'd it.

I own indeed, that by the maxims of ſo jealous a Government, ſome alarm might be reaſonably taken. A Soul ſo elevated is thought incapable of moderation; a deſire of glory ſo paſſionate, is hardly to be diſtinguiſh'd from that ambition which makes us aſpire to power. A confidence ſo uncommon, is not remote from extraordinary undertakings. In a word, the virtues of Heroes are ſuſpected among Citizens: nay, I dare affirm, that his pretending a Commerce with the Gods, which is ſo advantageous to Legiſlators for the foundation of a State, ſeem'd, in a private perſon, of dangerous conſequence to an eſtabliſh'd Commonwealth.

SCIPIO was therefore unhappy, in affording appearances contrary to his intentions; which ſerved as a pretence for the malice of his rivals, and as a ground for the precaution of alarm'd perſons.

Hereupon a man of integrity is firſt ſuſpected, and a little after an innocent accuſed. He was able to anſwer and juſtify himſelf; but, if the expreſſion may be allowed me, there is an heroick Innocence as well as an heroick Courage. Thus he neglected the common forms, which innocent perſons of the ordinary ſtamp are oblig'd to ſubmit to; and inſtead of anſwering his accuſers, he caus'd thanks to be return'd to the Gods for his Victories, when they demanded of him an account of his actions. All the People follow'd him to the Capitol,

to

to the ſhame of thoſe that proſecuted him. And the better to juſtify the ſincerity of his Deſigns, and the pureneſs of his Virtue, he ſacrificed his reſentments to the Publick, chuſing rather to live at a diſtance from Rome, by complying with the ingratitude of ſome Citizens, than to make himſelf the maſter of it, by an unjuſt Uſurpation. So many noble qualities oblig'd LIVY to pitch upon that great man for his Hero, and to allow him a nice preference to the reſt of the Romans.

If other Generals gain'd more Battles, and reduc'd more Cities, yet they did not defeat HANNIBAL, nor conquer Carthage: if they knew how to command others as well as he, they knew not how to command themſelves, and be equally maſters of their paſſions in the hurry of buſineſs, and the repoſe of a private life. I leave it undetermin'd whether he was the greateſt; but, if I dare affirm what LIVY hath but inſinuated, take him altogether, he was the moſt deſerving perſon. He had the Virtue of the antient Romans, but cultivated and poliſhed; and the knowledge and capacity of the laſt, without any mixture of corruption.

However, it is to be acknowledged, that his actions were more advantageous to the Commonwealth than his virtues. The Roman People had too deep a ſenſe of his excellent qualities, and applied themſelves ſo particularly to him, that they ſacrific'd their duty to the Publick, in following the private ſuggeſtions of their will.

The Humanity of SCIPIO, did in time produce unhappy effects, for it taught the Generals how to make themſelves belov'd: and as 'tis natural for all things to degenerate, an agreeable Command was followed by an unworthy complaiſance; and when Virtues were wanting to procure eſteem and friendſhip, they employed all the methods of bribery and corruption. Theſe were the miſerable effects of this

this particular Genius, which was noble and glorious in its beginning, but did afterwards produce the ambitious and the covetous, the corrupters and the corrupted.

[I may add, that had it not been for the attractive charm of SCIPIO's virtues, the fierce and untractable ſpirit of equality that ſway'd the old Romans, had ſubſiſted a long time; a Citizen would have made leſs application to another, and this application would not have produc'd an inſenſible dependance, which tends to the ruin of Liberty: but had it not been for the allurements of thoſe very Virtues, the Romans would never have recover'd the deſpondency into which the fear of HANNIBAL had caſt 'em; and the ſame men, who afterwards became Maſters of the World, would, perhaps, have been ſubject to the Carthaginians.]

This, at leaſt, may be ſaid in behalf of the Diſguſts which the Romans had for the Republick, that if the People diſengag'd themſelves from the love of the Laws, they only did it to ſettle their affections on virtuous perſons. The Romans came to that paſs, that they conſider'd their Laws, as the ſentiments of old Legiſlators, which ought not to be a rule to their age; and the ſentiments of SCIPIO were look'd upon as living and animated Laws.

As for SCIPIO, he turn'd all the regard they had for his perſon, to the ſervice of the Publick; but deſiring to ſoften the auſterity of Duty, by the allurement of Glory, he, perhaps, ſuffer'd himſelf to be carried a little too far in this point; and at Rome particularly, where the Citizens had appeared criminal, when they attracted too favourable an eſteem.

This new Genius which ſucceeded the Publick Good, animated the Romans for a long while to the performance of great and noble Actions, which they

they atchiev'd with a generous vigour and induſtry, to which they were ſtrangers before: for, the love of our Country makes us, indeed, ſacrifice our fortunes, and even our lives for its ſafety; but ambition and deſire of glory, are greater incentives to our induſtry, than that firſt paſſion, which is always virtuous and noble, but rarely acute and ingenious.

To this Genius was owing the Defeat of HANNIBAL, and the ruin of Carthage; the humbling of ANTIOCHUS, and the conqueſt or ſubjection of all the Greeks: ſo that we may ſay with reaſon, that it was advantageous to the Grandeur, but fatal to the Liberty of the Commonwealth.

At length, they were as much out of humour with this, as they were with the love of the Republick. That eſteem, that noble inclination for men of virtue, ſeem'd ridiculous to thoſe who reſolv'd to conſider nothing but themſelves. Honour began to be accounted a chimera; Glory, a mere vanity; and every one baſely purſu'd his own private intereſt, whereby he thought he ſhew'd his good ſenſe and judgment.

Now the Genius of Self-intereſt, which ſucceeded that of Honour, acted differently amongſt the Romans, according to the diverſity of tempers. Thoſe who poſſeſſed a true greatneſs of mind, ſtrove to acquire power; mean ſouls contented themſelves by heaping up riches, all manner of ways.

As men do not fall, of a ſudden, into an abſolute corruption, there was a gentle ſliding from Honour to Intereſt, where both one and t'other ſubſiſted in the Republick, but with different reſpects. There was honour preſerv'd in ſome particular actions, and nothing but infamy in others.

A general corruption reigned at Rome, in affairs that related to the Citizens. Integrity became every day more rare; Juſtice was in a manner baniſh'd:

niſh'd: the deſire of growing rich, was the predominant paſſion; and conſiderable perſons applied their induſtry to the making themſelves maſters of what did not belong to them. But ſtill there was a face of Dignity kept up, in relation to ſtrangers; and the moſt depraved at home, ſhew'd themſelves jealous of the Glory of the Roman name abroad.

Nothing was more unjuſt than the judgment of the Senators; nothing ſo ſordid as their avarice: yet, at the ſame time, the Senate religiouſly preſerved their Dignity; and never were they more zealous to hinder the Majeſty of the Roman People from being violated.

This Senate, in other things ſo much abandon'd to intereſt and ſo corrupted, together with the reſt of the Citizens, voted with the ſame high ſpirit as SCIPIO could have had, when they were to deal with an enemy. In the time of a great Corruption, they could not bear the ſhameful Treaty that MANCINUS ſtruck up with the Numantines; and that unfortunate Conſul was oblig'd to go and deliver himſelf into their hands, with all manner of diſgrace[3]. GRACCHUS, who had a ſhare in the Peace, as being Quæſtor in the army of MANCINUS, in vain endeavour'd to ſupport him; his credit

[3] *The Conſul Hoſtilius Mancinus, after having been ſeveral times defeated by the Numantines, ſuffer'd himſelf, with his Army conſiſting of thirty thouſand men, to be ſhut up in his Camp; and could not otherwiſe be ſaved than by making with the enemy, who had but four thouſand men, a Treaty; wherein it was agreed, that henceforth there ſhould be a perpetual alliance between the Romans and the Numantines, and that the latter ſhould enjoy all the rights and privileges of the Romans. The Senate judging this Treaty to be ignominious to the Republick, ſent back Mancinus, bound hand and foot, to the Numantines, that they might uſe him as they pleas'd; but they would not receive him. See Freinſhemius's* Supplement *to the* LV. *and* LVI. *Books of Livy.*

credit was of no ſervice; and his eloquence employed to no purpoſe.

As there happen'd thro' GRACCHUS, one of the moſt important turns of the Commonwealth, and, perhaps, the riſe of all thoſe commotions that afterwards diſturb'd it, it will not be amiſs to give his Character.

He was a perſon very conſiderable for his birth, the advantages of his body, and the qualities of his mind; of a Genius oppoſite to that of great SCIPIO, from whom his Mother CORNELIA was deſcended; more ambitious of Power, than animated by a deſire of Glory, unleſs it were that of Eloquence, which was neceſſary at Rome to gain credit, and make one's ſelf popular. He had a great and lofty ſoul; but fitter to embrace new, or revive antiquated things, than ſolidly to purſue thoſe already eſtabliſh'd. His integrity made him ſcorn all thoughts of money, in regard to himſelf; tho when he advanc'd the intereſt of others, 'tis certain, he always did it with ſome deſign. However, the love of Virtue was natural enough to him, and the hatred of Vice yet much more. He had a compaſſion for the oppreſſed, but more animoſity againſt the oppreſſors: ſo that his paſſion prevailing over his virtue, he inſenſibly abhorr'd the perſons, more than the crimes.

Several great qualities made him admir'd amongſt the Romans; tho, at the ſame time, he was not maſter of one in a juſt degree. His engagements carried him farther than he thought at firſt; his reſolution turn'd into a ſort of obſtinate ſtiffneſs, and thoſe virtues which might have been uſeful to the Republick, became ſo many advantageous talents for faction.

In my opinion, there is neither niceneſs nor moderation in the Judgments that have been tranſmitted to us concerning him. Thoſe that have

embrac'd

embrac'd the party of the Senate, have repreſented him as a hot, furious man; and the partiſans of the People, as a true protector of Liberty. Now, it ſeems to me, that his deſigns, in the main, were honeſt, and that he naturally hated all manner of injuſtice; but oppoſition put theſe good intentions into a ferment and diſorder. Contradiction having incens'd him againſt thoſe that oppoſed him, he purſu'd by a ſpirit of Faction, what he had begun with a principle of Virtue. This, in my opinion, was the true Genius of GRACCHUS, who ſtirr'd up the People againſt the Senate. Let's now conſider what diſpoſition the People were in.

After having done great ſervices to the State, the people found themſelves expoſed to the oppreſſion of the Rich, and particularly to that of the Senators, who by their authority, or other unfair methods, robb'd the Commons of their ſmall poſſeſſions. Thus, continual injuries had alienated the hearts of the multitude: but without entertaining, as yet, any ill intentions, they ſuffered this tyranny with grief; and as they were really more miſerable than ſeditious, they expected, rather than ſought after a deliverance from this unfortunate condition.

I thought it neceſſary to deſcribe the Senate, GRACCHUS, and the People, before I enter'd upon that violent agitation which afterwards ſhook the Commonwealth.

We may, therefore, imagine the Senate unjuſt, corrupt, but concealing the infamy at home, by maintaining their affairs with dignity abroad. Our idea of GRACCHUS, will repreſent him to us, as a perſon that had great talents, but fitter wholly to ruin a corrupted Commonwealth, than to reſtore it to its purity by a wiſe reformation. As for the People, they were not diſaffected, but could not tell how to bear their miſery, nor how to employ themſelves after the loſs of their poſſeſſions.

ADVERTISEMENT.

Monſieur de St. Evremond, as was mention'd in his Life, *having reſolved to go over into Holland in the year* 1665, *left his Papers in the cuſtody of his good Friend Mr. Waller; but upon his return to London, (in* 1670*), he found that moſt of them were loſt during the great Plague; and, among the reſt, the ſeven following Chapters, with part of this, relating to the conteſt of Gracchus with the Senate. They could never be recover'd; and M. de St. Evremond would not take the trouble to write them over again: ſo that we have only the ſummary titles of them,* viz.

CHAP. IX.

The Genius of the Roman People, when Jugurtha poſſeſſed himſelf of the Kingdom of Numidia. Sordid intereſt predominant as to their Affairs abroad, as it had been long before at home. The infamous Character of thoſe perſons who were firſt employ'd in this Affair. The Temper of Scaurus.

CHAP. X.

War manag'd by Metellus. His Character, and that of Jugurtha. The Pride and Haughtineſs of the Nobility.

CHAP.

CHAP. XI.

The Character of Marius: his arrogance. The Genius of the People, and the Spirit of faction againſt the Senate. The People ſuperior to the Senate: their licentiouſneſs.

CHAP. XII.

The Character of Sylla, who retrieves the authority of the Senate, and oppreſſes the People. Something of Pompey and Sertorius.

CHAP. XIII.

The State of Rome, and the Genius of the Romans, at the time of Catiline's Conſpiracy. His Character, together with that of Clodius. The baniſhment of Cicero, and his Character.

CHAP. XIV.

The State of Rome, when the Government was divided between Pompey, Ceſar, and Craſſus.

CHAP. XV.

The Motives of the Civil War between Pompey and Ceſar. Their Character. How the Senate was affected to Pompey, and the People to Ceſar. The ſentiments of the former concerning the Republick. His power eſtabliſhed, at the expence of the publick Liberty. Ceſar's politick and gradual ſteps towards abſolute ſway.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVI.

Of AUGUSTUS, *his Government, and his Genius.*

I Will not meddle with the beginnings of the Life of AUGUSTUS, which were too tragical; I only intend to conſider him after his acceſſion to the Empire: and, in my opinion, never did Government deſerve more particular obſervations than his.

After the tyranny of the Triumvirate, and the deſolation occaſion'd by the Civil War, he reſolv'd, at length, to govern by reaſon a people ſubjected by force; and being diſguſted with violence, which, perhaps, the neceſſity of his affairs had forc'd upon him, he knew how to eſtabliſh a happy ſubjection, farther diſtant from Slavery, than from the antient Liberty.

AUGUSTUS was none of thoſe, who plac'd the advantage of Sovereignty, in the rigour of obedience; who take no pleaſure in the ſervice which is done them, but for the neceſſity which they impoſe upon others to perform it.

This refinement of Government, was carried to ſuch a point of nicety, under ſome of the Emperors, that Subjects were not permitted to ſeem willing to bear that, which others thought fit to impoſe on them. A diſgrace that was receiv'd without a ſhew of deep ſorrow; a baniſhment that was chearfully complied with; in ſhort, an eaſy ſubmiſſion to every thing that was enjoin'd, cauſed the diſguſt of the Prince. To obey him as he would have it, a man was oblig'd to obey him in ſpite of himſelf: but

then it highly concern'd him to be very cautious in his reluctance; for when the latter broke out with bluſter, it did but provoke the more reſentment and anger: ſo that the poor Romans were hard put to it, to find a nice medium between two extremes equally dangerous.

AUGUSTUS judg'd quite otherwiſe of the matter: he was of opinion, that the beſt way to command men, was to gain their affections, before duties were exacted from them: and, indeed, ſo ſucceſsful was he in perſuading them of the uſefulneſs of his Orders, that the people thought leſs of the obligation they lay under to perform them, than of the advantage they found in them.

One of his greateſt and conſtant cares, was, to make the Romans taſte the Happineſs of his Government, and to make his power, as far as he could, inſenſible to them. He rejected thoſe very names that might be diſpleaſing, and above all things the title of *Dictator*, deteſted in SYLLA, and odious even in CESAR [1]. The greateſt part of thoſe perſons that raiſe their fortunes, aſſume new titles to authorize a new power; but he was for concealing a new power, under uſual names, and ordinary dignities. He caus'd himſelf to be called *Emperor* from time to time, to preſerve his authority over the Legions; he made himſelf to be created *Tribune*, to manage the People; and *Prince of the Senate*, to govern that Body: but when he had reunited in his perſon ſo many different powers, he alſo charg'd himſelf with different cares, and really became the Overſeer of the Armies, the People, and the Senate, when he made himſelf Maſter of them

[1] Non Regno tamen, neque Dictatura, ſed Principis nomine conſtitutam Rempublicam mari Oceano, aut amnibus longinquis ſeptum imperium. *Corn. Tacitus, Annal. Lib. I. cap. 9. Vid. etiam Lib. III. cap. 56.*

them all: and even then he only employ'd his Power, to take away the confuſion that was grown univerſal. He reſtor'd the People to their Rights, and retrench'd nothing but caballing at the election of Magiſtrates. He likewiſe reſtor'd the Senate to their antient ſplendor, after he had baniſh'd corruption: for he contented himſelf with a moderate Power, which did not afford him the liberty of doing ill; but would have it abſolute, when he reſolv'd to impoſe upon others the neceſſity of doing well.

Thus the People loſt no other branch of their Liberty, but that of being ſeditious; nor the Senate any part of their Power, but that of being unjuſt. Liberty loſt nothing but the diſorders it may occaſion, and nothing of the happineſs it may produce.

After he had eſtabliſhed ſo good an order, he found himſelf agitated by different thoughts, and conſidered a long time with himſelf, whether he ſhould keep the Empire, or reſtore the People to their priſtine Liberty. The examples of SYLLA and CESAR, notwithſtanding their difference, made an equal impreſſion in favour of the laſt opinion. He conſider'd that SYLLA, who had voluntarily quitted the Dictatorſhip, died peaceably in the midſt of his enemies; and that CESAR, for having kept it, was murder'd by his moſt intimate friends, who glory'd in the action.

I know Verſes ſuit but ill with this ſolemn ſubject: yet thoſe of CORNEILLE, about the ſuſpence AUGUSTUS was in, will not be amiſs in this place; ſince he makes the Romans ſpeak better than they ſpeak themſelves:

SYLLA *m'a precedé dans ce Pouvoir ſuprême,*
Le grand CESAR, *mon Pere, en a joüi de même ;*
D'un oeil ſi different tous deux l'ont regardé,
Que l'un s'en eſt demis, & l'autre l'a gardé.
Mais l'un cruel, barbare, eſt mort aimé, tranquille,
Comme un bon Citoyen dans le ſein de ſa ville :
L'autre tout debonnaire, au milieu du Senat,
A vu trancher ſes jours par un aſſaſſinat [a].

SYLLA did once ſuſtain that ſovereign Pow'r,
Which my illuſtrious Father, CESAR, bore:
But different views their thoughts did entertain ;
So one reſign'd, what t'other did retain.
Yet, cruel SYLLA dy'd in ſoft repoſe,
Like a good Citizen that had no foes ;
When CESAR, who with gentle mercy reign'd,
Was butcher'd, in the Senate, by a friend.

Struggling with ſo troubleſom an uncertainty, he diſcover'd the perplexity of his ſoul to his two principal friends, AGRIPPA and MECENAS. AGRIPPA, who had gained him the Empire by his valour, adviſed him to lay it down, and this from a principle of moderation ; unleſs, perhaps, he had more concealed ends, and finding himſelf a greater Warrior than AUGUSTUS was, he expected the chief employments of the Commonwealth, upon its reſtoration.

As for MECENAS, who had no ſhare in the Victories, he adviſed him to retain what conqueſt had given him. However, amongſt other reaſons, he fail'd not to urge the conſideration of the Publick, which he pretended, could not be ſupported without AUGUSTUS. But allowing it might be ſo in ſome meaſure ; he followed, in effect, his inclination

[a] Cinna, *a Tragedy, Act.* II. *Sc.* I.

clination for the perſon of his Prince, and his own private intereſt.

MECENAS was an honeſt man; but gentle-natur'd and tender, and more affected by the ſweets of life, than by thoſe manly Virtues, which were eſteemed in the Commonwealth. He was ingenious, but given to his Pleaſures, apprehending all things with much clearneſs, and judging of them with ſolidity, but more capable of adviſing than acting: ſo that finding himſelf weak, lazy, and purely cut out for the Cabinet, he hoped to obtain from his addreſs with a nice Emperor, what he could not expect from the Roman People, where he muſt have raiſed himſelf by his own abilities and performances, and acted vigorouſly by himſelf.

To return from the perſons to the thing, the Empire was retained by his advice; yet after the reſolution of keeping it was taken, AUGUSTUS made a compliment of reſigning it to the Senate. Some looked upon this as a great inſtance of Moderation; many acknowledged the great integrity of the offer: but all truly agreed in this point, to refuſe the antient Liberty. One would have ſaid, that there was a conteſt of Civilities, which concluded in a common ſatisfaction on both ſides: for, AUGUSTUS govern'd the Empire by the Senate, and the Senate was govern'd by AUGUSTUS.

A Government ſo temperate, pleas'd every body; and the Prince followed no leſs his intereſt therein, than his moderate temper: for, after all, we paſs with much reluctance from Liberty to Subjection; and he might eſteem himſelf happy to command a free People in what manner ſoever.

Beſides, the fatal example of CESAR oblig'd him, perhaps, to follow a different conduct, to avoid the ſame end. The great JULIUS, who was born, if I may ſo ſpeak, in a Faction oppoſite to the Senate, had always a ſecret deſire to oppreſs

it; and finding that great Body oppoſed his deſigns in the Civil War, he conceiv'd a new averſion for it, altho he had ſhew'd a great deal of good-nature and clemency to the Senators in particular. After his return to Rome, ſeeing himſelf ſecure of the People and the Legions, he little regarded the Senate; and even treated them with inſolence upon ſome occaſions; ſo difficult is it for perſons of the greateſt moderation, not to forget themſelves in a great fortune! Now it is certain, that this haughty pride of his, incenſed a great many perſons, and produced, or, at leaſt, accelerated the Conſpiracy by which he periſh'd.

AUGUSTUS, one of the warieſt Princes of the world, did not fail making the beſt uſe of an obſervation ſo neceſſary; and ſcarce was he poſſeſſed of the Empire by the Legions, but he reſolved to govern it by the Senate. He knew the violence of the Soldiers, and the tumultuous temper of the People; both appearing to him more fit to be employed on any ſudden occaſion, than eaſy to be manag'd when it was once over.

He therefore reſolv'd to found the Government upon the Senate, as the beſt conſtituted body, and moſt capable of Wiſdom and Juſtice; but at the ſame time he ſecured the Legions, and the People to himſelf, by donatives and acts of grace. Thus, as I have already obſerved, every one was pleaſed, and AUGUSTUS found in his moderation the real ſafety of his Perſon, and his Power. In which reſpect he was, in truth, extremely fortunate, there being nothing ſo happy in this life, as for a man to be able with honour to purſue his inclination and his intereſt at the ſame time.

I will not excuſe his beginnings; but I make no queſtion, but that during the violence of the Triumvirate, he did much violence to himſelf. 'Tis certain, that he naturally hated the cruel temper of

MARIUS,

MARIUS, SYLLA, and ſuch like. He hated thoſe fierce ſouls, who feel but an imperfect pleaſure in being maſters, if they don't make their power felt by others; who place greatneſs in being dreaded; and the happineſs of their condition, in making perſons miſerable at their pleaſure.

He had found by experience, that an honeſt man makes himſelf firſt unhappy, when he makes others ſo; and he was never ſo well ſatisfy'd, as when he ſaw himſelf in a capacity of doing good, according to his own inclination, after he had been forced to do ſome ill things againſt it. He always aimed at the ſucceſs of his Affairs, but then he deſired that they ſhould tend to the publick advantage of Mankind; and in all his undertakings, conſidered leſs the Glory, than the Benefit. During his Government, no War was neglected that might be uſeful; and he left thoſe Wars for Heroes, that are purely for Glory.

This made him come to an accommodation with the Parthians, and lay aſide the project which CESAR entertain'd a little before he was murder'd. This made him reject the propoſal of a War in Germany, wherein he diſcovered no real intereſt: this made him ſet bounds to the Empire, whatever interpretation TACITUS has given of ſo prudent a counſel [3]. In a word, he ſuffer'd himſelf to be little govern'd by opinion, noiſe, or vanity. He eſteemed a ſolid Reputation, which renders the life of men more pleaſant and ſecure.

'Tis true, indeed, that AUGUSTUS had but an indifferent talent for War; and if we commend his Wiſdom and Capacity, we muſt not commend his Valour univerſally.

[3] Addideratque concilium coercendi intra terminos imperii, incertum metu an per invidiam. *Annal. Lib.* I. *cap.* 11.

HIRTIUS and PANSA carried on the firſt War againſt ANTHONY, of which AUGUSTUS alone reaped the advantage [4]. He gained but little glory in that of BRUTUS, which was wholly managed and concluded by ANTHONY. The ruin of ANTHONY, was the effect of his Paſſion for CLEOPATRA, and the Valour of AGRIPPA. AUGUSTUS had but little ſhare in theſe Battles, yet for all that obtained the Empire. Not but that he was in ſeveral Fights, and even wounded in ſome; but with more ſucceſs for his Affairs, than glory for his Perſon. And, indeed, the tenth Legion, ſomewhat inſolent upon the ſcore of the high eſteem the great CESAR had for them, could not bear with the Nephew, whenever they remember'd the Uncle; which occaſion'd their being diſbanded, notwithſtanding all their merit, for once ſhewing a diſreſpect to him, in his very preſence.

However, he made an admirable uſe of War, both for the advancement of his own intereſt, and that of the Empire. Never did Prince know how to give better orders, nor repair'd more willingly, whitherſoever the exigence of affairs call'd him, whether into Egypt, Spain, Gaul, Germany, or the Eaſt. Yet after all, the world was ſenſible that War did not agree with his true Genius; and altho he triumph'd with univerſal applauſe, it was well known, that his Lieutenants were the Conquerors. He would have paſs'd for a great Captain, in the time of thoſe Emperors, who either thro' their want of Valour, or falſe ideas of Greatneſs, durſt not, or thought it below their dignity, to take the conduct of Armies upon them. But as he liv'd in an

[4] *Mark Anthony, who was beſieging Brutus, one of Ceſar's murderers, in Modena. Anthony was defeated before that Town; but the two Conſuls, A. Hirtius, and C. Vibius Panſa, periſh'd there: all which very much contributed to the advancement of Auguſtus, then called Octavius Ceſar.*

an age, wherein a man could not recommend himself but by his own Exploits, and, in particular, succeeded CESAR, who owed all to himself; it was a disadvantage to him, to be more beholden to others than to himself.

But it was not so in the Civil Government, wherein the Senate did nothing that was wise and good, but what AUGUSTUS suggested to them. The Good of the State was his first thought: and he did not understand by the *Good of the State*, a vain and fantastical name, but the real benefit of those who composed it. His own first; (for it is not reasonable that a man should quit the pleasures of a private life, to abandon himself to the cares of the Publick, unless he finds his own advantage in it) and next, that of his People, which he ever thought inseparable from his own.

Those who had perform'd the greatest service, were entitled to his first regard; and under him, Merit advanc'd those, whom it would have ruin'd under his Successors, when Crimes were less dangerous than Virtues. AGRIPPA had not so great a share in his confidence, as MECENAS; but his great qualities render'd him much more considerable: and having gain'd such an interest in Rome, that AUGUSTUS found himself oblig'd, either to get rid of him, or make him his absolute Creature; he rather chose to give him his Daughter, notwithstanding the meanness of his birth, than hearken to what jealousy might suggest to him. As for MECENAS, as he was more agreeable, and more versed in the Closet, so he had the greater intimacy with him both as to his pleasures and secrets.

AUGUSTUS was beneficent to his Courtiers, and was glad to see, that the Romans, heretofore so jealous of their Liberty, would make an advantage of his favours. Thus they made it their particular business to please AUGUSTUS, and the making

king one's court became a man's true intereſt: tho not the moſt conſiderable. The merit which related to the ſervice of the State, was preferr'd before that which was acquir'd by a devotion to his perſon: the firſt of which he all along took care to encourage himſelf by his own diſcourſes; never mentioning what was due to him, but always what he himſelf ow'd to the Republick.

However, as we never beheld a man ſo uniform in his actions, who did not, now and then, depart from the general habit and conduct of his life: ſo AUGUSTUS pleaded one day in defence of a friend of his, who was accus'd of a horrible Villany[5]; and who, in all appearance, was acquitted only out of reſpect to the Emperor. This could not be done without offending good men; but yet he expreſs'd ſo much moderation in keeping the forms, and in bearing with the freedom of thoſe who anſwer'd him ſomewhat ſmartly, that he ſoon regain'd their affections: and even thoſe that were moſt offended, dropping their indignation, excus'd the injuſtice of protecting a wicked Man, by the generoſity that appear'd in not deſerting a friend.

The Men of Letters had a great ſhare in his familiarity; amongſt the reſt, LIVY, VIRGIL, and HORACE: by which we may ſee the excellence of his Judgment, as well in ingenious compoſures, as in buſineſs. He loved the exquiſite Taſte of his own Age, the Delicacy of which ſeems to have been almoſt loſt in thoſe that follow'd: but he hated thoſe Affectations that proceed from a bad palate; and which ill Judges and falſe Criticks, extol into ſublime. As he liv'd among perſons of refined taſte, ſo he took a delight in having his choice applauded; but

[5] *Nonius Aſprenas, who was accuſed of having poiſon'd one hundred and thirty Perſons, with one diſh only. See Pliny's* Hiſt. Nat. *Lib.* XXXV. *cap.* 12. *&* *Suet.* in Auguſto, *cap.* 56.

but 'twas his opinion, that it was much better to fall naturally into the good ſenſe of others by one's Reaſon, than to make one's capricious Humours to be receiv'd by force.

Beſides the honour of his Judgment, of which he was jealous, he was of opinion, that to beſtow a bounty, which others thought ill-plac'd, was a favour but to one, and an injury to a great many. That, on the contrary, the diſgrace of a worthy man, was reſented by all men of Virtue, by the compaſſion it raiſes in ſome, and the alarm it gives to others.

He had an admirable faculty in diſcerning the Humour and Ambition of the moſt elevated perſons; yet without entertaining any ſuſpicions injurious to their Virtue.

He allow'd people the freedom of their Judgments in general Affairs: for it was his opinion, that it's a man's birthright to ſpeak his ſentiments: that, indeed, it is a crime to pry curiouſly into the Secrets of one's Prince, and a piece of infidelity to abuſe his confidence: but that affairs, when once they become publick, muſt of neceſſity be ſubmitted to the publick Judgment; that a Sovereign ought to conſider this, before he acts, and not pretend that he is able to hinder it, when the thing is done.

It was, perhaps, upon the knowledge of his humour, that LIVY adventur'd to write ſo boldly the War of CESAR and POMPEY, without loſing the leaſt degree of his favour[6]. CREMUTIUS CORDUS recited his Hiſtory to him, and he did not think himſelf in the leaſt affronted, to ſee BRUTUS and CASSIUS there called *the laſt of*

[6] Titus Livius eloquentiæ ac fidei præclarus in primis, Cn. Pompeium tantis laudibus tulit, ut Pompeianum eum Auguſtus appellaret: neque id amicitiæ eorum obfecit, *Taciti Annal.* Lib. IV. cap. 34.

of the Romans: an Encomium which, under TIBERIUS, proved fatal to CREMUTIUS, who was arraigned for it; *a Crime*, says TACITUS, *till then unheard of*, and which cost him his life[7]. MECENAS had given him a more particular counsel, but more difficult to be practised; it was, "Never "to be piqued at whatever was spoken against him. "If what is alledg'd of us be true, added MECE-"NAS, it is rather our business to mend, than "for others to put a restraint upon themselves: "but if what is said of us be false, so soon as we "shew a concern at it, we make it suspected for "truth. The contempt of such Discourses discre-"dits them, and takes away the pleasure from those "that raise them. If you resent them more than "you ought to do, it is in the power of the most "contemptible Enemy, of the most pitiful Envier, "to disturb the repose of your life; and all your "Power cannot secure you against Vexation."

AUGUSTUS went to extremes in some things, but fell very short in others. I see injuries forgotten; I see him so bold in his clemency, that he durst pardon a Conspiracy, not only real, but even ready and ripe for execution[8].

However, let men be never so virtuous, yet they never allow so much to their Virtue, but they make great allowances to their Humour. 'Tis hardly to be believed, how nice he was, in relation to his family; nothing was so dangerous as to talk of the Amours of JULIA, unless it were to have some commerce with her. OVID was banish'd for it, and never recall'd; and that which appears to me extra-

[7] Cremutius Cordus postulatur, novo ac tunc primum audito crimine, quod editis Annalibus, laudatoque M. Bruto, C. Cassium *Romanorum ultimum* dixisset. *Id. ibid.* Objectum de Historico (*Cremutio Cordo*) quod Brutum Cassiumque *ultimos Romanorum* dixisset. *Suetonius* in Tiberio, *cap.* 61.

[8] *Cinna's Conspiracy.*

extraordinary, the Husband himself felt the effects of this froward humour. That the conduct of JULIA should displease AUGUSTUS was a natural thing; but that the poor AGRIPPA should suffer the anger of his Father-in-law, and the debaucheries of his Wife at the same time, was an odd business, and the last misfortune that can befal a Husband.

It must be confess'd, that the Emperor was too much perplex'd at home. In the general applause of the whole Empire, he could not overcome those little vexations his family gave him; and he bore them rather like a mere private person, than a great man; for he knew neither how to end these disorders, by taking care to prevent them for the future, which really is no easy thing; nor yet to conquer his own resentments, and set his mind at rest. After he had much afflicted himself on one side, he indulg'd himself too carelessly in the sweetness he found on t'other; and if JULIA tormented him as long as she lived, LIVIA knew how to manage him so well in the declining part of his age, that the Adoption of TIBERIUS was rather the effect of her conduct, than the real choice of the Emperor.

AUGUSTUS knew better than any one the Vices of TIBERIUS, and the designs of LIVIA; but had not force enough to act according to the true Judgment he made of them. While he form'd a just notion of things, which never proceeded to execution; his Wife, without opposing his understanding, and useless knowledge, made herself mistress of his will, and turn'd him which way she pleas'd. 'Tis this, in my opinion, which hath deceiv'd TACITUS, in those malicious Politicks which he ascribes to AUGUSTUS. He knew that TIBERIUS's Temper was not unknown to him; and because he did not believe that so great an Emperor

peror could be perſuaded to ſo important a buſineſs againſt his own ſentiments, he hath ſuppos'd a Deſign and Myſtery, where, if I miſtake not, there was nothing at bottom, but downright facility [9].

After theſe particulars of his Family, let us return to generals. He made the World happy, and was happy in the World. He had nothing to deſire of the Publick, nor the Publick of him: and conſidering the evils thro' which he forc'd his way to the Empire, and the good things he did after he arrived at that dignity, I think it was ſaid with reaſon, *That it were to be wiſh'd either he had never been born, or had never died* [10].

At laſt, he died lamented by all men; leſs great without compariſon than CESAR, but of a more regular Genius; which makes me believe, that it would have been more glorious to have ſerv'd in the Army of CESAR, but more happy for a man to have liv'd under the Government of AUGUSTUS.

As for the Romans, they had nothing then ſo elevated among them, as in the time of the Republick, either with reſpect to the greatneſs of Genius, or firmneſs of Soul; however, they were ſomewhat more ſociable. After all the Calamities they had

[9] Ne Tiberium quidem caritate, aut Reipublicæ cura ſucceſſorem adſcitum; ſed quoniam adrogantiam, ſævitiamque ejus introſpexerit, comparatione deterrima ſibi gloriam quæſiviſſe. *Annal. Lib.* I. *cap.* 10. *Vide etiam Suetonium* in Tiberio, *cap.* 21.

[10] Igitur mortuum (*Auguſtum*), ſeu necatum, multis noviſque honoribus Senatus cenſuit decorandum. Nam præter id quod antea Patrem Patriæ dixerat, templa tam Romæ, quàm per urbes celeberrimas ei conſecravit, cunctis vulgo jactantibus, UTINAM AUT NON NASCERETUR, AUT NON MORERETUR. Alterum peſſimi incepti, exitus præclari alterum. *De Vita & Moribus Imperatorum Romanorum, Excerpta ex libris Sext. Aur. Victoris*, &c. cap. I. § 28, 29. *The ſame hath been ſaid of the Emperor* SEVERUS. *See* Aurelius Victor, *de Cæſaribus*, cap. XX. in Septimio Severo; *and* Ælii Spartiani, *Severus.*

had ſuffer'd, they were glad to find ſome Tranquillity, no matter how it came to them. There remain'd not a ſufficient Virtue to ſuſtain Liberty: they would have been aſham'd, indeed, of an entire Subjection; but if we except a few fierce ſpirits, whom nothing would content, every one took a pride to ſee the appearance of a Republick, and was not, in reality, diſpleaſed with a gentle and agreeable Sovereignty.

CHAP. XVII.

Of TIBERIUS, *and his Genius.*

AS there are but few Revolutions, where men continue long within ſuch a juſt moderation; a happy and honourable ſtate was ſoon changed into a miſerable and baſe condition. The Roman Virtue was ſoftned after the death of BRUTUS and CASSIUS, who alone kept up the fierceneſs of it. After the ruin of ANTHONY, there was a liking, almoſt general, of the Government of AUGUSTUS, and no leſs a complaiſance for his Perſon. When TIBERIUS came to the Empire, this complaiſance degenerated into cringing and adulation. We may with reaſon affirm, that this Prince being naturally irreſolute, would have been contented with a moderate Power: but the Romans, more diſpoſed to ſerve, than TIBERIUS to command, gave themſelves up to ſlavery, when he hardly durſt hope for their ſubjection. This was the Genius of the Roman People at that time.

'Tis neceſſary now to ſpeak of that of TIBERIUS, and to ſhew what ſort of Temper he brought with him to the Government of the Empire.

His moſt concealed, but beſt purſued deſign, was to change all the Maxims of AUGUSTUS. The latter, when he came to be Emperor, bent all his thoughts towards the procuring the general good. Of ſo juſt and ſo wiſe a Policy, TIBERIUS made a Science of the Cabinet, in which was comprehended a falſe and myſterious Intereſt of the Prince, ſeparate from the Intereſt of the State, and generally oppoſite to the Publick Good.

Judgment, Capacity, and Secrecy, were changed into Craft, Artifice, and Diſſimulation. Good and evil actions were no longer known by themſelves; every thing being interpreted according to the nice intention of the Emperor, or judg'd by the refining of ſome malicious ſpeculation.

The authority which GERMANICUS had to appeaſe the Legions, was a ſervice very advantageous, and for ſome time well accepted: when the danger was over, it was conſidered, that he might debauch the Troops from their duty, ſince he knew how to bring them to it. In vain was he faithful to TIBERIUS; his moderation in refuſing the Empire, was not thought a ſufficient proof of his innocence: he was thought guilty for having it offer'd to him; and ſo many artifices were employed to deſtroy him, that they at length got rid of a man, who was willing to obey, but deſerv'd to command. Thus periſh'd this GERMANICUS, ſo dear to the Romans, in an Army, where he was leſs in danger from the Enemies of the Empire, than from that Emperor whom he had ſo faithfully ſerved.

He

He was not the only perſon that fell a ſacrifice to thoſe malicious Politicks, which had a general influence in all Counſels. Diſtant Employments were but myſterious Baniſhments; Offices, and Governments were beſtow'd on Perſons that were either deſign'd for ruin, or thoſe that were to ruin others. In a word, the intereſt of the publick was no longer conſider'd; for in truth the Armies had rather Outlaws over them than Generals; and the Provinces baniſhed men, than Governors. At Rome, where the Laws had been always ſo religiouſly and ſo ſolemnly obſerv'd, every thing was then manag'd, by the jealouſy of this myſterious Cabinet.

When a perſon of conſiderable merit ſhew'd any paſſion for the glory of the Empire, TIBERIUS ſuſpected immediately, that it was with a deſign to obtain it. If another retain'd an innocent remembrance of Liberty, he paſs'd for a dangerous man, who had a mind to reſtore the Republick. To praiſe BRUTUS and CASSIUS was a capital crime: to lament AUGUSTUS, a ſecret offence, which was ſo much the leſs pardon'd, as people durſt not complain of it; for TIBERIUS always commended him in publick, caus'd divine Honours to be decreed to him, and was the firſt man that perform'd them to him. But human ſentiments were not allow'd; and a tenderneſs ſhewn for the memory of that Emperor, was improv'd either into an indirect impeachment of the preſent Government, or a diſaffection to the Perſon of the Prince.

Hitherto you have had Crimes inſpir'd by the jealouſy of falſe Politicks; but now there opens a ſcene of bare-fac'd Cruelty, and avowed Tyranny. They are not contented with forſaking good Maxims, but the beſt Laws muſt be aboliſh'd, and new ones enacted, under pretence of ſecuring the Emperor's perſon, but in reality to deſtroy all the good men

that remain'd in Rome. Every thing is made Treaſon. Formerly true Conſpiracies were puniſhed, but now even innocent words, maliciouſly explain'd, are made criminal. Complaints, which the unfortunate are allow'd for the relief of their miſeries; Tears, thoſe natural expreſſions of our grief; and Sighs, which eſcape us in ſpite of our will; nay, bare Looks, at laſt, became fatal. The ſimplicity of diſcourſe was thought to cover evil Deſigns; the diſcretion of ſilence, to conceal miſchievous Intentions. Joy was interpreted as a hope of the Emperor's death; and melancholy obſerv'd as a vexation at his proſperity, or wearineſs of his reign. In the midſt of theſe dangers, if that of Oppreſſion gave a man the leaſt apprehenſion, his fear was taken for the teſtimony of a frighted Conſcience, which, betraying it ſelf, diſcover'd what he was about to do, or what he had done. If any one was thought to have Courage and Reſolution, he was fear'd as an audacious man, capable to undertake any thing. To ſpeak, to be ſilent, to rejoice, to be afflicted, to be fearful or reſolute, all was criminal, and very often incurr'd capital puniſhment.

Thus, the ſuſpicions of others made a man guilty. But it was not enough for him to be expoſed to the corruption of Accuſers, the falſe reports of Spies, or the ſuppoſitions of ſome infamous Informer; he muſt dread likewiſe the Emperor's fancy: and when one thought himſelf ſecure by the innocence not only of his Actions, but of his Thoughts, he could not fail being ruin'd by the malice of his conjectures.

To carry the matter no farther; a man ought to have had a good ſtock of merit in that time, to be a man of Integrity, becauſe it expoſed him to ſo many dangers and hardſhips. That Virtue which durſt appear, was infallibly deſtroy'd; and that which was but gueſſed at, was never ſecure.

As

As we are not exempt from perplexity in the evil which we make others endure, TIBERIUS was not always eaſy in the exerciſe of his Cruelties. SEJANUS, who inſinuated himſelf into his favour, by methods as unjuſt as his own; this great Favourite, ſurfeited with honours and riches, which ſtill continued him in a dependance, had a deſire to free himſelf from all ſubjection, and left nothing unattempted to put himſelf inſenſibly into the place of his maſter. Being inſtructed in the Maxims of the Emperor, and having gain'd a maſtery in his arts, he removes out of the way his Children by poiſon; and was upon the point of diſpatching him, when this Prince recovering from his ſtupidity, as it were by a miracle, preſerv'd his unhappy days, and deſtroyed that Confident who deſign'd to have deſtroy'd him. His condition was not leſs unhappy than before: he lived odious to all the World, and troubleſom to himſelf; an enemy to the lives of others, as well as to his own. At length he died, to the great joy of the Romans, not being able to eſcape the impatience of a Succeſſor, who cauſed him to be ſtifled in a ſickneſs, when he was in a fair way of recovery.

I have ſometimes reflected upon the difference between the Republick and the Empire, and came to this concluſion: That a Man might have lived as eaſy under the Emperors, as under the Conſuls, if the Maxims of AUGUSTUS had been purſued. But Rome was not ſo happy. The Politicks of TIBERIUS were embrac'd by the greateſt part of his Succeſſors, who placed the honour of their Reign, not in governing the Empire beſt, but in enſlaving it moſt.

In this reſpect, AUGUSTUS was leſs eſteem'd for having known how to make the Romans happy, than TIBERIUS for having made them miſerable without controul. Theſe Emperors thought it a

of insufficiency, or weakness, to observe the Laws: sometimes the art of eluding them, was the chief secret of their Policy; and sometimes the forcible violating of them, pass'd for true Greatness, and becoming Authority. The forces of the Empire were no more employ'd against Strangers: the power of the Emperor was felt by the Natives, and the oppressed Romans held the place of subdued Nations. At length, the CALIGULA's, the NERO's, and the DOMITIAN's, push'd Sovereignty beyond all bounds; and altho the Prerogatives of the Emperors were infinitely below those of the Kings, yet they committed several Violences, which TARQUIN himself would not have ventur'd upon.

On the other hand, the Romans became equally fatal to the Emperors; for passing from Slavery to Fury, they massacred some of them, and arrogated to themselves an unjust and violent Power of deposing and setting them up at pleasure. Thus the bonds of Government were broken; and the duties of Society failing, nothing else was aim'd at, but to ruin those who obey'd, or to destroy those who should have commanded. This strange confusion ought principally to be ascribed to the barbarous temper of the Emperors, and to the brutish violence of the Soldiers; but if you trace up the first cause, you will find, that this spirit of Tyranny was first authoriz'd by the example of TIBERIUS, and the Government establish'd upon those Maxims, which he left behind him.

As those who affect regularity the most, don't always adhere to the justness of Rules; so the most irregular don't eternally follow the disorders of their Inclinations, and Humours. They will, at least, add Policy to their temper. Even those who do every thing without deliberation, don't fail to reflect upon their Actions, when they are over, and

make that to be the effect of Judgment, which was the pure result of Nature. But whether the Emperors acted by natural Temper, or Policy, or both together; I maintain, that TIBERIUS corrupted every thing that was good, and introduc'd every thing that was bad in the Empire.

AUGUSTUS, who had a just and nice insight into things, knew admirably well the Genius of his time, and found no trouble in changing a voluntary Submission in the leading men of a party, into a true Subjection. TIBERIUS, full of Craft and Subtlety, but of a false discernment, was mistaken in the knowledge of the Affections of the People. He thought he had to do with old Romans, fond of Liberty, and incapable of any Subjection: when at the same time the general inclination was to serve, and the least passive were dispos'd to obedience. This false Notion of things, made him use cruel precautions against persons he fear'd without reason: for 'tis observable, that so suspicious a Prince, had never occasion to fear any one but SEJANUS, who made him distrust all others. With these false measures, Cruelty daily increas'd; and as he that offends, is the first that hates, the Romans became odious to him, for his unjust and barbarous usage of them. At length, he acted openly, and treated them as Enemies, because he had given them but too much reason to be so.

The passive humour which prevail'd then, made his tyranny peaceably endur'd. They suffer'd the Brutality of CALIGULA with the like submission; for his Death is a particular fact, wherein neither the Senate, People, nor Legions were concern'd. They bore with the dangerous Stupidity of CLAUDIUS, and the Insolence of MESSALINA. They endur'd the Fury of NERO, till their patience being totally exhausted there ensu'd a general discontent.

Hereupon a Conſpiracy was form'd againſt his perſon: from particular Combinations, it came to the revolt of the Legions; and from the revolt of the Legions, to the declaration of the Senate. The latter might, perhaps, have reſtor'd the antient Liberty, if they had been willing to do it; but having been ſo long uſed to Emperors, they were contented to diſpoſe of the Empire. This privilege the Pretorian Cohorts challeng'd to themſelves; neither would the Legions of Provinces yield them that prerogative. A diviſion broke out among the latter; ſome nominating one for Emperor, and ſome another. Then nothing was heard but Maſſacres and Civil Wars; and never did the People enjoy any ſettled Tranquillity, if we except the Reigns of a few Princes, who knew how to reconcile thoſe intereſts, which the falſe Politicks of TIBERIUS had divided, to the common misfortune both of the Emperors and Empire.

A

JUDGMENT

UPON

CESAR and ALEXANDER.

To MONSIEUR * * *.

'TIS almoſt univerſally agreed, that ALEXANDER and CESAR were the greateſt men in the World; and all who have ſet up for Judges, thought they oblig'd the Heroes that came after them, by finding ſome reſemblance between their Reputation and their Glory. PLUTARCH, after he has examin'd their Temper, their Actions, and their Fortunes, leaves us the liberty to decide, which he durſt not take upon him. MONTAIGNE, more confident, declares himſelf for the former: and ſince the Verſions of VAUGELAS, and D'ABLANCOURT[1], have made theſe Heroes the ſubject of all our converſations; every one has eſpous'd the part of one or t'other, according to his own particular inclination or fancy. As for my ſelf, tho, perhaps, I have examin'd their

[1] *Vaugelas has tranſlated into French the Life of Alexander, written in Latin by Quintus Curtius; and d'Ablancourt Ceſar's Commentaries.*

Lives with as much curioſity as any man, I will not pretend, however, to give a poſitive Judgment: but ſince you are unwilling to excuſe me from giving my thoughts, I have ſent you ſome obſervations, upon the Relation and Difference I find between 'em.

Both had the advantage of an illuſtrious birth; ALEXANDER the Son of a conſiderable King; CESAR deſcended from one of the moſt noble families of that Republick, whoſe very Citizens eſteem'd themſelves ſuperior to Kings. It ſeems, that the Gods had a mind to make known the future grandeur of ALEXANDER, by OLYMPIAS's dream, and by ſome other paſſages. His inclinations, that were ſublime from his infancy; his tears, which ſhew'd him jealous of his father's Glory; the judgment of King PHILIP, who thought him worthy of a greater Kingdom than his own, ſufficiently ſupport the declaration of the Gods. Many things of this nature were no leſs remarkable in CESAR. When he was very young, SYLLA diſcover'd many MARIUS's in him. CESAR dream'd that he had lain with his Mother, and the Soothſayers interpreted it, That the Earth, the common mother of mankind, ſhould fall under his power. He was obſerv'd to weep, when he beheld the Statue of ALEXANDER, becauſe he had perform'd nothing conſiderable, at an age when that Conqueror had made himſelf maſter of the World.

They were both paſſionate lovers of Learning: but ALEXANDER, whoſe ambition ſhew'd it ſelf in all his Actions, was jealous of any ſuperiority in his ſtudies; and the principal end he propos'd to himſelf in ſciences, was to be more knowing than others. Thus we find he complain'd of ARISTOTLE, for publiſhing ſome Arcana's of Learning, which ſhould have been communicated to none but himſelf;

himſelf; and he declares, That he coveted no leſs to raiſe himſelf above other men by his Learning, than by his Arms. As he had a prying and eager Genius, he delighted in the diſcovery of the ſecrets of Nature, and was particularly affected with Poetry. All the world knows what a reſpect he bore to HOMER; and that in favour of PINDAR, the Houſes of his Poſterity were preſerv'd in the general ruin and deſolation of Thebes.

CESAR, whoſe Genius was not altogether ſo extenſive, reduc'd the Sciences to his own uſe, and he ſeems to have admir'd Learning, for no other reaſon than for his own advantage. In the Philoſophy of EPICURUS, which he preferr'd to all others, he beſtow'd his chief application on that part of it which relates to Man. But it appears, that Eloquence had his earlieſt care, as being perſuaded it was the moſt neceſſary qualification in a Republick, to arrive at the higheſt employments. He ſpoke a funeral Oration at the Roſtra, on the Death of his Aunt JULIA, with great applauſe. He impeach'd DOLABELLA; and afterwards made that incomparable Speech, to ſave the lives of LENTULUS, and the reſt that were impriſon'd on account of CATILINE's Conſpiracy [a].

As for ALEXANDER, there is nothing that we have any aſſurance to be his, except ſome Apophthegms of an admirable turn, which leave in us an equal impreſſion of the greatneſs of his Soul, and the vivacity of his Genius.

But the greateſt difference I can obſerve in their ſentiments, is upon the ſcore of Religion: for, ALEXANDER was devout, even to ſuperſtition, giving an entire credit to Divinations and Oracles; which, beſides his natural inclination, may be imputed to his uſual reading of the Poets, who inculcated

[a] *See Salluſt's account of Catiline's Conſpiracy.*

cated a fear and reverence of the Gods, and made up all the Theology of thoſe times. As for CESAR, whether it were owing to his temper, or becauſe he follow'd the Opinion of EPICURUS, 'tis beyond diſpute, that he went into the other extreme; that he had no expectation from the Gods in this life, and was very little concern'd about what ſhould happen to him in another. LUCAN repreſents him at the ſiege of Marſeilles, with an Ax in his hand, in a conſecrated Wood, where giving the firſt ſtrokes himſelf, he encourages his Soldiers, who were ſeized with a ſecret horror of Religion, by expreſſions impious enough [3]. SALLUST makes him affirm, That Death is the end of all misfortunes; that after it, there remains neither Care, nor ſenſe of Joy [4].

But

[3] *Lucan's Verſes are theſe,* Lib. III. verſ. 432—439:

Implicitas magno Cæſar terrore cohortes
Ut vidit, primus raptam librare bipennem
Auſus, & aëriam ferro proſcindere quercum,
Effatur merſo violata in robora ferro:
Jam ne quis veſtrum dubitet ſubvertere ſilvam;
Credite me feciſſe nefas. Tunc paruit omnis
Imperiis non ſublato ſecura pavore
Turba, ſed expenſa ſuperorum & Cæſaris ira.

Which Mr. Rowe has tranſlated thus:

Cæſar *perceiv'd the ſpreading Fear to grow,*
Then eager, caught an Ax, and aim'd a Blow;
Deep ſunk within a violated Oak
The wounding Edge, and thus the Warrior ſpoke;
Now, let no doubting hand the Task decline;
Cut you the Wood, and let the Guilt be mine.
The trembling Bands unwillingly obey'd;
Two various Ills were in the Balance laid,
And Cæſar's *Wrath againſt the Gods was weigh'd.*

[4] In luctu atque miſeriis mortem ærumnarum requiem, non cruciatum eſſe: eam cuncta mortalium mala diſſolvere; ultra neque curæ neque gaudio locum eſſe. *De Conjurat. Catilinæ,* cap. 51.

But as men, be they never ſo great, yet when they are compar'd one to another, are always infirm, defective, contrary to themſelves, liable to miſtakes or ignorance; CESAR was diſturb'd at a Dream, which foretold him the Empire, and would not give the leaſt credit to that of his Wife, which forewarn'd him of his Death. His life was anſwerable to his belief: he was, indeed, moderate in indifferent Pleaſures, but indulg'd himſelf without controul, in thoſe that affected him. This was the reaſon that CATULLUS writ ſo many Epigrams againſt him, and why at laſt it became a Proverb, That CESAR *was the Wife of all Huſbands, and the Huſband of all Wives.*

ALEXANDER was more moderate in this reſpect, yet he was not altogether inſenſible; for BARSINE and ROXANA captivated him by their charms; and his Continence, at laſt, could not reſtrain him from being familiar with BAGOAS, as DARIUS had been before him [1].

The pleaſure of banquetting, which ALEXANDER loved to that degree, that ſometimes he indulg'd himſelf in it, even to exceſs, was indifferent to CESAR. Not but that ALEXANDER, in time of action, was very temperate, and could take up with any thing; but when eaſe and repoſe had ſucceeded the toils of War, he look'd upon tranquillity as dull and inſipid, if he did not, as it were, awaken it by ſomewhat extraordinary.

They were both magnificent, even to exceſs; but CESAR had more deſign and ſelf-intereſt in his profuſion. His Gratuities to the People, his exceſſive expences in the Edileſhip, his preſents to CURIO,

[1] Nabarzanes accepta fide occurrit, dona ingentia ferens. Inter quæ Bagoas erat ſpecie ſingulari ſpado, atque in ipſo flore pueritiæ; cui & Darius fuerat aſſuetus, & mox Alexander aſſuevit. *Quint. Curtius*, Lib. VI. cap. 5.

RIO, were properly, rather Bribes and Corruptions than true Liberalities. ALEXANDER's gifts proceeded from a true greatneſs of Soul, merely with a deſign to do good. When he paſs'd into Aſia, he diſtributed his Patrimony among his friends, and ſtript himſelf of all, reſerving nothing for himſelf but the hopes to conquer, or a reſolution to die. At a time when he had, almoſt, no more occaſion for any man, he diſcharg'd the debts of the whole Army. Painters, Statuaries, Muſicians, Poets, Philoſophers, (all needy illuſtrious men) ſhared in his magnificence, and found the effects of his grandeur. Not but that CESAR was alſo naturally very liberal: but as he deſign'd to raiſe himſelf, he was oblig'd to gain thoſe who could be inſtrumental in it; and he hardly ſaw himſelf maſter of the Empire, but he was unhappily deprived of it, together with his life.

I don't find in CESAR that friendſhip which ALEXANDER had for HEPHESTION, nor that confidence he repoſed in CRATERUS. CESAR's intercourſes were either correſpondences for the better carrying on his Affairs, or an obliging and civil Behaviour, which, however, had nothing of the warmth of Friendſhip in them. 'Tis true, his familiarity carried no danger in it, and thoſe who convers'd with him, had nothing to fear, either from his Paſſion, or Caprice. As ALEXANDER was in extremes, either he was the moſt charming or the moſt terrible perſon; and there was no ſecurity to be expected in an intimacy which he himſelf had begun. However, next to Glory, Friendſhip was his predominant paſſion; of which there needs no other teſtimony than his own expreſſion, when he cried out near the Statue of ACHILLES: O ACHILLES! *how happy do I eſteem thee, for having had a faithful Companion in thy life, and ſuch a Poet as* HOMER *after death!*

Thus

Thus far we have examin'd the different tempers of theſe two great men: 'tis now time to conſider them as Conquerors, and to view them in the utmoſt extent of Action. 'Tis, indeed, a kind of folly to reaſon much upon things purely imaginary; nevertheleſs, in all appearance, if ALEXANDER had been in CESAR's place, he had employ'd his great and admirable qualities to his own deſtruction. We may rationally enough ſuppoſe, that his haughty and uncautious humour, would ſcarce have preſerved him in the perſecutions of SYLLA; for he would hardly have been induc'd to ſecure himſelf by a voluntary receſs. As his Gifts proceeded out of a principle of Generoſity, they would undoubtedly have proved fatal to him. Inſtead of waiting till he had been choſen Edile, in which Office his magnificence and profuſions would have been permitted; his Largeſſes and Preſents, at an unſeaſonable time, would have render'd him juſtly ſuſpected to the Senate. Perhaps too, he could not have ſubmitted himſelf to Laws that would have ſhackled a Soul ſo imperious as his; and by undertaking ſomething prepoſterouſly, he would have met the deſtiny of MANLIUS, of the GRACCHI, or of CATILINE. But, if ALEXANDER had periſh'd in the Republick, CESAR, whoſe Courage and Warineſs went commonly hand in hand, had never entertained in his thoughts the vaſt deſign of conquering Aſia.

It may be imagin'd, that CESAR, whoſe conduct was ſo ſly and ſo ſecret, that he was concern'd in all Conſpiracies, without being impeach'd but once, and never convicted; that he, who by fomenting diviſions among the Gauls, aſſiſted the one, in order to oppreſs the others, and bring them all, at laſt, under Subjection: it may be imagined, I ſay, that CESAR following his own Genius, would have ſubdued his neighbours, and ſet all the Republicks

licks of Greece at difference one with another, in order to have made himſelf abſolute maſter of them. And, indeed, thus to relinquiſh Macedonia, without the leaſt hope of return; to leave his Neighbours diſaffected; Greece, in a manner ſubdued, but not quite reconciled to the new eſtabliſhed Government; with 35000 Men, 70 Talents, and an inconſiderable quantity of Proviſions, to go directly to ſeek out the King of Perſia, whom the Greeks called *THE GREAT KING*, and whoſe very Lieutenants upon the frontiers, ſtruck the whole world with terror: this is beyond one's imagination, and is ſomething more ſurprizing, than if the Republick of Genoa, in conjunction with thoſe of Lucca, and Raguſa, ſhould, at this day, attempt the Conqueſt of France. Had CESAR declared war againſt the Great King, he had acted, perhaps, only upon the Frontiers, nor would he have accounted himſelf unfortunate, if he had made the River Granicus the boundary of his territories. If his Ambition had carry'd him farther, can it be imagin'd, that he would have refus'd the offers of DARIUS, he, who always propoſed an Accommodation with POMPEY; and that he would not have been ſatisfied with the Daughter of that King, with five or ſix Provinces, which perhaps it was inſolence in ALEXANDER to refuſe? In fine, if my conjectures are rational, he would not have ventur'd into the plains, to ſeek the King of Perſia, who was attended by a million of Soldiers. As brave and reſolute as CESAR was, I queſtion whether he would have ſlept profoundly the night before the Battle of Arbela: I rather believe, he would have been of PARMENIO's opinion, and that his anſwers would not have been like thoſe of ALEXANDER. However, that great Battle was abſolutely neceſſary towards the Conqueſt of Aſia; for otherwiſe DARIUS had protracted the War

from

from province to province. 'Twas neceſſary he ſhould fall as he did, and that a thouſand different people ſhould ſee him vanquiſh'd with his whole forces.

'Tis true, that this immoderate deſire of Glory, and this boundleſs Ambition, which allowed him no intervals of repoſe, render'd him, at ſome particular times, ſo inſupportable to the Macedonians, that they were all ready to abandon him. But 'tis there, particularly, that he exerted that greatneſs of Spirit which nothing could daunt: *Go*, ſays he, *go, you ungrateful Cowards, and tell your Countrymen, that you have left* ALEXANDER *with his friends, labouring for the Glory of Greece, amongſt Nations that will obey him better than you.* Of all the paſſages of his Life, the Prince of CONDE admires nothing more than this haughtineſs he ſhew'd to the Macedonians, and this confidence in himſelf. "ALEXANDER, *ſays he*, left by his own men, "amongſt barbarous Nations, who were not thoroughly ſubdued, was ſo ſenſible of his own worth, "and capacity to command, that he thought it not "in the power of men to refuſe to pay him obedience. To reſide in Europe or in Aſia, amongſt "Greeks, or Perſians, was indifferent to him; he "thought he could not want Subjects, wherever he "met with Men."

That which is uſually urged in favour of CESAR is this, that the Macedonians had to do with a cowardly people, diſſolved in eaſe and luxury; and that the Conqueſt of the Gauls, who were a fierce and warlike People, muſt of neceſſity have been much harder to the Romans. I won't amuſe my ſelf with enquiring into the Courage of one or t'other; but 'tis certain, that CESAR never found any real and ſubſtantial Armies among the Gauls. They were ſo many whole Nations, who, if we except their Women, Children, and old Men, took up arms in

a tumultuary manner, for the defence of their Liberties: they were a multitude of Combatants, without order, ſkill, or diſcipline; and in truth, excepting two or three, CESAR might ſafely ſay, *Veni*, *Vidi*, *Vici*, upon all other occaſions. Which inclines me to believe, that LABIENUS at the head of the Legions, would have had the ſame fortune to ſubject our Provinces to the Republick; or, in all probability, PARMENIO had not given that great Battle, which decided the fate of Aſia. You may obſerve alſo this remarkable particular, that PARMENIO wanted ALEXANDER's aſſiſtance in the fight; and that CESAR had been infallibly loſt once, without LABIENUS; who, after he had routed all on his ſide, ſent the tenth Legion to bring him off. Whether it were that he undertook more dangerous Attempts, or elſe expoſed himſelf more than he needed, or whether he was in this point the more unfortunate of the two; ALEXANDER was a hundred times in manifeſt danger of his life, and very often received great wounds. I own, CESAR run alſo his hazards, but more rarely; and I don't find that he was ever much wounded in any of his Wars.

Neither can I imagine how the People of Aſia ſhould be ſo ſoft and puſillanimous, they who have been always formidable to Europe. In the greateſt Power of the Republick, were not the Romans unhappy in their encounters with the Parthians, who poſſeſs'd but one part of the Empire of DARIUS? CRASSUS periſh'd there with his Legion, in the time of CESAR; and a little after, ANTHONY made an expedition thither, with loſs and infamy. As for Conqueſts, we can't juſtly attribute any other to CESAR, than that of Gaul: for in the Civil War, he ſubdued the Commonwealth with the better part of its own force; and the ſingle Battle of Pharſalia, made him abſolute maſter of a hundred different

different nations, which others had ſubdued before to his hands. VESPASIAN cannot be ſaid to have conquer'd the Empire, when he was made Emperor upon the defeat of VITELLIUS. In like manner, CESAR reap'd the advantage of the labours and exploits of all the Romans before him; the SCIPIO's, ÆMILIUS, MARIUS, SYLLA, and POMPEY, even his own enemies fought for him; all that was perform'd in 600 years, was the reward of one hour's Battle.

That which ſeems to me ſtill more incomprehenſible, as to ALEXANDER, is this, that in twelve or thirteen years he conquer'd more Countries than the greateſt States have done in the whole extent of their duration. At this time a Traveller is celebrated, for having only paſſed thro' a part of thoſe nations which he ſubdued: and that nothing might be wanting to render his happineſs complete, he not only enjoy'd his Empire in peace, but was adored even by thoſe he had conquered. In which particular I pity the unhappineſs of CESAR, who could not ſettle the State, according to his intentions, being aſſaſſinated by thoſe he went to reduce to a compliance.

There is another thing too to be conſider'd in ALEXANDER; which is, that all the Macedonian Captains after his death were mighty Kings, who compar'd to him when alive appear'd but as ordinary perſons. And, indeed, I think, he's in ſome meaſure pardonable, if in a Country where it was believ'd that moſt of the Gods had their progeny upon Earth; where HERCULES was ſuppos'd to be the Offspring of JUPITER, becauſe he had the fortune to kill a Lion, and to rid the world of a troubleſome robber: I ſay, ſure he's pardonable in ſome meaſure, if relying on the opinion of PHILIP, who was perſuaded that his

Wife had familiarity with a Deity; if impos'd on by the Oracle; in ſhort, if upon finding himſelf ſo much above the common level of mankind, he ſometimes deſpis'd his real birth, and ſought for his extraction in the Heavens. Perhaps he only propagated this belief amongſt the Barbarians, to attract their Veneration; for at the ſame time that he gave himſelf out to be a God, his natural ſleep, his delight in Women, and the blood which came from his wounded body, ſufficiently convinced him that he was but a Man.

After ſo large a diſcourſe concerning the advantages of ALEXANDER, I will venture to affirm, that CESAR was the greateſt of the Romans in all reſpects, both in matters of State and War. The enterprizes of ALEXANDER, have, indeed, ſomething in them more amazing; but conduct and capacity do not ſeem to have had ſo great a ſhare in them. The War of Spain againſt PETREIUS, and AFRANIUS, is what men of judgment and experience yet admire. The moſt memorable Sieges of the latter times, have been form'd on the model of the ſiege of Alexia; and to CESAR we owe our Fortifications, our Lines, our Contravallations, and generally every thing that relates to the ſecurity of Armies, before inveſted places. As to what regards vigour, the Battle of Munda was by far more obſtinately diſputed than thoſe of Aſia; and CESAR ran as great a riſque in Egypt, as ALEXANDER did in the town of the Mallians.

They were no leſs different in their manner of proceeding, than in the action it ſelf. When CESAR had not Juſtice on his ſide, he endeavour'd to ſupply the defect of it by ſpecious pretences, that were never wanting to him. ALEXANDER gave no other reaſons to the world than his own Will: he conſtantly follow'd, either his Ambition

or

or his Humour. On the other hand, CESAR ſuffer'd himſelf to be govern'd, either by his Intereſt or Reaſon. Few men ever ſhew'd ſo much Equality in the way of living, ſo much Moderation in fortune, and ſo much Clemency after injuries. Thoſe impetuoſities which coſt poor CLITUS his Life; thoſe raſh and haſty ſuſpicions which occaſion'd the ruin of PHILOTAS, and which, to the infamy of ALEXANDER, at length drew after them, as a neceſſary conſequence, the death of PARMENIO: all theſe irregular motions were unknown to CESAR. He cannot be reproach'd with any man's death but his own, for not taking care enough of his own ſecurity.

And, indeed, it muſt be confeſs'd, that far from ſuffering himſelf to be a ſlave to the diſorders of his paſſions, he was the moſt ſtirring man in the world, and the leaſt tranſported by them: great and ſmall things found him ſtill in the ſame temper, without appearing lofty in the one, or humble in the other. ALEXANDER ſeem'd to be out of his element, unleſs he was doing ſomething extraordinary. If he was to run a race, it was to be with none but Kings. If he lov'd hunting, nothing below a Lion was game for him. He could not, without ſome uneaſineſs, make a preſent unworthy of himſelf. He was at no time ſo reſolute, nor in ſo good humour, as when his troops deſponded: never ſo full of hope, as when they deſpair'd. In a word, he began to be compos'd, when other men, for the moſt part, either thro' fear, or ſome other infirmity, are beſides themſelves. But his too lofty Soul did but aukwardly condeſcend to take up with the common courſe of human life; and being ill-guarded at home, it was to be fear'd it ſhould fly out into ſome extravagance or other, either in his pleaſures, or his eaſe.

And here I cannot forbear to make ſome reflections upon Heroes, whoſe dominion has that agreeable property, that we ſubmit to it without trouble. Under them we have none of thoſe ſecret repugnances, nor thoſe inward impulſes of Liberty, which make us uneaſy in a forc'd obedience. We are all duty and ſubmiſſion, but their Humours are ſometimes inſupportable. When they have render'd themſelves our Maſters by their power, and are ſo much above us by their merit, they are for erecting a double Empire, which exacts a double ſubjection; and very often, 'tis a miſerable condition, that we muſt depend upon men who are ſo great, that they may with reaſon deſpiſe us. However, ſince they don't rule in Deſarts, but are under a neceſſity of living among us; methinks it ſhould be their intereſt to accommodate themſelves to our infirmities. We would reverence them as Gods, if they would be content to live as Men.

But let us conclude a Diſcourſe which now begins to grow tireſom to my ſelf; and obſerve, that by practicable means CESAR perform'd the greateſt actions, and made himſelf the firſt of all the Romans.

ALEXANDER was naturally above the reſt of men: one wou'd be apt to think that he was born Maſter of the Univerſe, and that his Expeditions were not ſo much a March in order to fight Enemies, as a Progreſs to receive the homages of his Subjects.

Of the Complacency that Women take in their Beauty.

THERE'S nothing ſo natural with the Fair Sex, as to take pleaſure in their own Beauty. They pleaſe themſelves, before 'tis poſſible for others to pleaſe them; and are the firſt that diſcover their own charms, and fall in love with them. But the motions of this Love are more ſweet than affecting: for Self-love only flatters; but Love inſpired by an object affects ſenſibly.

This firſt ſort of Love is naturally form'd in them, and has themſelves only for its object. The ſecond comes from without, and is either caus'd by a ſecret ſympathy, or by the violence of an amorous impreſſion. The one is a good that only occaſions pleaſure, but yet it is ſtill a good; and laſts as long as their beauty does. The other is capable of affecting them more ſenſibly, but is more ſubject to change and alteration.

Beſides this advantage of duration, which the complacency that the Ladies take in their Beauty has above a common paſſion; we may ſtill add, that a beautiful Woman is more concerned to preſerve her Beauty, than her Lover; and ſhews leſs tenderneſs for a heart already vanquiſh'd, than vanity and oſtentation to extend her conqueſts. Not but that ſhe may be concern'd for her Lover; but her reaſon will incline her rather to ſuffer the loſs of what ſhe loves, than the ruin of that which cauſes her to be belov'd.

There is a certain pleaſure, in lamenting the Death of one we loved. Our Love ſupplies the place of a Lover, whilſt our ſorrow laſts; and

thence proceeds that delight we find in a pleaſing mourning.

Qui me conſole excite ma colere,
Et le repos eſt un bien que je crains:
Mon deuil me plait, & me doit toûjours plaire,
Il me tient lieu de celle que je plains[*].

Ceaſe, Damon, *ceaſe, by an ill-tim'd relief,*
To rob me of my beſt companion, grief.
Sorrow to me all lovely does appear,
It fills the place of her I held ſo dear.

But 'tis not ſo with the loſs of Beauty. This loſs conſummates the bitterneſs of tears; for it robs the Ladies of the hopes ever to receive any pleaſure as long as they live.

As long as a Woman is in full poſſeſſion of her Beauty, no misfortune can befal her, which ſhe cannot, in ſome meaſure, alleviate: but when once that bleſſing has left her, all the other advantages will never be able to give her any tolerable ſatisfaction. Wherever ſhe goes, the remembrance of what ſhe has been, or the conſideration of what ſhe is at preſent, will give her a thouſand griefs and ſorrows.

The beſt remedy would be for a Woman wiſely to take up with the unfortunate condition ſhe is in: but what a cruel remedy is this for a Woman who has been ador'd, to be cur'd of a vanity ſo very dear to reaſon it ſelf? A new and troubleſom experiment after the habit of ſo ſweet and ſo agreeable a ſenſe!

The laſt tears that beautiful eyes reſerve, are ſpent in bewailing themſelves, after their brightneſs is gone. Of all hearts, the only one that ſighs

[*] *Maynard, in the Ode on the death of his Daughter.*

for

for a loſt beauty, is that of the miſerable poſſeſſor.

The beſt of our Poets endeavouring to comfort a great Queen, for the loſs of a greater King her Royal Conſort, would make her aſhamed of the extravagance of her affliction, by the example of a certain Princeſs in deſpair [2], who arraign'd Deſtiny, reproach'd the Stars, and accus'd the Gods for the death of her Husband:

Qui dit aux Aſtres innocens,
Tout ce que fait dire la rage,
Quand elle eſt maîtreſſe des ſens [3].

Boldly ſhe charges ev'ry Pow'r above,
(So much her reaſon's govern'd by her love)
With all that furious paſſion can inſpire,
When grief indulg'd, renews the glowing Fire.

But finding that the horror of Impiety was not ſtrong enough to make any impreſſion on a mind ſo tranſported by grief, for his laſt and convincing reaſon, he repreſents to her, how much her Charms are concern'd in it; as if he had no better a remedy againſt this exceſs, than to put her in mind of the great injury it did her beauty:

Que vous ont fait ces beaux Cheveux,
Dignes objects de tant de voeux,
Pour endurer vôtre colere;
Et devenus vos ennemis,
Recevoir l'injuſte ſalaire,
D'un crime qu'ils n'ont point commis?

[2] *Artemiſia, who had loſt Mauſolus, King of Caria, her Huſband.*

[3] *Malherbe in his* Ode *intitled,* Conſolation à Caritée ſur la Mort de ſon Mari. *This Piece was wrote for Marie de Mediçis, upon the death of King Henri* IV. *of France her Husband.*

Thoſe charming Locks the rudeſt hands would
ſpare,
And yet they ſuffer by your own deſpair.
Alas! what crimes have thoſe fair Treſſes done?
Think what a train of conqueſts they have won.
Is grief ſo cruel, or your rage ſo blind,
That to your ſelf you muſt be thus unkind?

He excus'd the Ladies for being impious and extravagant; but would not pardon their making themſelves leſs amiable. This is a crime, which he thought would eaſily create a horror in them. It had ſignify'd but little to bring them back to a ſenſe of Religion; but to ſet before their eyes the intereſt of their Beauty, was the ſtrongeſt argument he could think of to oppoſe the obſtinacy of their grief: he knew nothing beyond that, which was capable to cure them.

That we may fully know how paſſionately fond the Ladies are of their Beauty, let us conſider the moſt retired and the moſt devout amongſt them. There are ſome who have renounc'd all pleaſures; who are wean'd from all worldly concernments; who endeavour to pleaſe no body, and whom no body pleaſes: but even in this indifference for every thing elſe, they ſecretly flatter themſelves to find they are ſtill agreeable. There are others who abandon themſelves to all ſorts of auſterities; yet, if they accidentally happen to ſee themſelves in a glaſs, you ſhall hear them ſigh to behold themſelves alter'd. They do, with the utmoſt zeal, every thing that helps to disfigure their faces, but can't endure the ſight of them when they are once disfigur'd.

Nature, that can conſent to deſtroy it ſelf out of love to God, ſecretly oppoſes the leaſt change of beauty, out of a principle of ſelf-love that never dies. Let a fair perſon retire to what place ſhe pleaſes,

pleaſes, let her condition be what it will, yet her charms and features are ſtill dear to her, even in the time of ſickneſs; and if her ſickneſs goes as far as death, the laſt ſigh that goes from her, is more for the loſs of her Beauty, than that of her Life.

A JUDGMENT

UPON

SENECA, PLUTARCH, AND *PETRONIUS.*

I will begin with SENECA, and with the utmoſt aſſurance own, that I eſteem his Perſon much more than his Works. I reſpect the Tutor of NERO, the Gallant of AGRIPPINA, an ambitious man that put in for the Empire: of the Philoſopher and Writer I have but a mean opinion, and am affected neither with his ſtyle nor his ſentiments. His Latin comes far ſhort of that of the Auguſtean Age, nothing eaſy, or natural; but all made up of points, and ſtrain'd witticiſms, and has more of the heat of Africk or Spain, than the light of Greece or Italy. There are abrupt things, that have the air and turn of ſentences, but want both their ſolidity and good ſenſe: that affect and hurry the imagination, without convincing the judgment. His ſtrain'd ſtyle gives me a ſort of conſtraint; and inſtead of finding any ſatisfaction

tisfaction and repoſe in him, I meet with trouble and vexation.

NERO, tho he was one of the moſt wicked Princes of the world, yet was he very ingenious, and had about him a ſet of young rake-hells of quality, extremely nice, who treated SENECA as a Pedant, and turn'd him into ridicule. I am not of the opinion of BERVILLE, who imagin'd, that the ſham EUMOLPUS of PETRONIUS, was the true SENECA. If PETRONIUS would have expos'd him in an injurious character, it had been under that of a pedantick Philoſopher, rather than that of an impertinent Poet. Beſides, 'tis almoſt impoſſible to find the leaſt agreement between them. SENECA was the richeſt man in the Empire, yet always commended poverty. EUMOLPUS, a Poet very low in the world, who in the deſpair of his fortune, complain'd of the ingratitude of the Age, and found nothing elſe to comfort him but this thread-bare Saying, *bonæ mentis ſoror eſt paupertas.* If SENECA had vices, he carefully conceal'd them, under the appearance of wiſdom: EUMOLPUS, on the contrary, had the vanity to proclaim his, and as to his pleaſures, was a profeſs'd Libertine.

I can't imagine, therefore, what reaſons BERVILLE had for this conjecture. But I am deceiv'd, if what PETRONIUS ſays of the ſtyle of his time, and the corruption of Eloquence and Poetry, if the *controverſiæ ſententiis vibrantibus pictæ*, which offended him ſo much; if the *vanus ſententiarum ſtrepitus*, that ſtunn'd him, doth not belong to SENECA; if the *per ambageſque Deorum miniſteria*, &c. does not relate to the *Pharſalia* of LUCAN; if the encomiums, which he beſtows on VIRGIL and HORACE, are not deſigned in contempt of the Uncle and Nephew. Be it as it will, to return to my ſentiments about this Philoſopher, I never

read his writings, without entertaining thoughts that are very different from thoſe which he would ſuggeſt to his reader. If he pretends to recommend poverty, I long for his riches; his virtue frightens me; and a man the leaſt diſpos'd to vice, would abandon himſelf to pleaſures, merely for the deſcription which he gives of them. In a word, he ſpeaks ſo much of death, and leaves me ſuch melancholy ideas, that I endeavour all I can not to improve by reading him. The fineſt things that I find in him, are the examples and quotations which he intermixes all along in his works. As he liv'd in a refined court, and knew a thouſand remarkable paſſages of former times; he alledges ſome that are very agreeable, ſometimes of the Greeks, ſometimes of CESAR, of AUGUSTUS and MECENAS: for, after all, his wit and knowledge were extraordinary; but his ſtyle does not at all affect me: his opinions are too ſevere; and 'tis ridiculous, that one who liv'd in plenty, and was ſo tenderly careful of his own perſon, ſhould preach up nothing but Poverty and Death.

UPON PLUTARCH.

MONTAIGNE obſerves a great reſemblance between PLUTARCH and SENECA[1]; both great Philoſophers, great encouragers of Wiſdom and Virtue, both tutors of Roman Emperors; the one more rich and elevated, the other more happy in the education of his Pupil. The opinions of PLUTARCH, (as the ſame MONTAIGNE affirms) are more palatable, and better calculated for ſociety; thoſe of SENECA, according to him,

[1] *See Montaigne's Eſſays, Book* II. *Chap.* 10.

more

more ſolid; but, in my judgment, more harſh, and more ſevere. PLUTARCH ſweetly inſinuates wiſdom, and would even reconcile virtue to pleaſures. SENECA makes all pleaſures to terminate in wiſdom, and looks upon the Philoſopher to be the only happy man. PLUTARCH unaffected, and firſt perſuaded of the truths he advances, eaſily perſuades others. On the other hand, SENECA's mind labours and ſtrains to wind up it ſelf to virtue; and as if ſhe was a perfect ſtranger to him, he has need to ſurmount himſelf. As for PLUTARCH's ſtyle, having no skill in the Greek, I cannot pretend to make a true judgment of it; but I muſt confeſs, that amongſt his Moral Treatiſes, there are ſeveral which I cannot comprehend; whether 'tis owing to the vaſt difference of things and manners in his time from thoſe of ours, or that they are really above my low underſtanding. The *familiar Dæmon of* SOCRATES, the *Creation of the Soul*, the *Circle of the Moon*[a], may be admirable to thoſe that underſtand them. For my part, I make no ſcruple to own, that I don't apprehend the beauty of them; and if they are wonderful, they are wonders that ſoar above my capacity. We may judge by the Apophthegms of the Antients, which he hath left us; by their Sayings, which he hath collected with ſo much care; by his long Table-Diſcourſes, how much he was taken with Converſation. In the mean time, either there was but little delicacy in his time, or elſe his palate was not very exquiſite. He ſupports grave and ſerious things with a great deal of good ſenſe and reaſon; but in things that depend purely upon wit, he has nothing ingenious, or delicate.

To ſpeak the truth, *The Lives of illuſtrious Men*, is the maſter-piece of PLUTARCH, and, in my opinion,

[a] *Three ſmall Tracts of Plutarch.*

opinion, one of the nobleſt works in the world: you ſee there thoſe great men expoſed to publick view, and in their retirements at home; you ſee them in their true natural temper, and in the whole extent of action. There you ſee the reſolution of BRUTUS, and his bold anſwer to the evil Genius that ſpoke to him: you ſee that there ſtill remain'd with him, in ſpite of himſelf, ſome impreſſion of this Ghoſt, which the reaſoning of CASSIUS had much ado to efface. A few days after, you ſee him put his troops in order, and fight a battle ſo ſucceſsful on his ſide, and ſo fatal by the error of CASSIUS. You ſee him try his fortune again, loſe the battle, reproach virtue, and find more relief in deſpair, than in an ungrateful miſtreſs whom he had ſo faithfully ſerved[3].

There is a natural force in the diſcourſe of PLUTARCH which equals the greateſt actions; and 'tis of him that one may properly ſay, *facta dictis exæquata ſunt:* but he forgets neither the indifferent nor the common ones, and carefully examines the ordinary courſe of life. As for his *Parallels*, which MONTAIGNE[4] thinks are ſo admirable, they appear to me very fine: but I'm of opinion, that he might have gone farther, and penetrated deeper into the bottom of our nature. There are windings and turnings in our ſouls, which have eſcap'd him. He has judg'd of Man too much in general, and has not thought him ſo different as he is from himſelf: wicked, virtuous; equitable, unjuſt; merciful, cruel: when a man ſeems to be oppoſite to himſelf, he attributes it to foreign cauſes. In a word, if he had defined CATILINE, he would have made him covetous, or

[3] *See M. Bayle's Dictionary, in the Article of* Brutus (Marcus Junius) *Rem.* B *and* C.

[4] *Eſſays, Book* II. *chap.* 22.

or prodigal: that *alieni appetens, ſui profuſus*, was beyond his apprehenſion; and he would never have diſcovered thoſe contrarieties, which SALUST hath ſo well mark'd, and which MONTAIGNE himſelf did much better underſtand.

UPON PETRONIUS.

TO judge of the merit of PETRONIUS, I will only examine what [5] TACITUS ſays of him;

[5] Illi dies per ſomnum, nox officiis, & oblectamentis vitæ tranſigebatur. Utque alios induſtria, ita hunc ignavia ad famam protulerat; habebatúrque non ganeo & profligator, ut plerique ſua haurientium, ſed erudito luxu. Ac dicta factaque ejus quanto ſolutiora, & quandam ſui negligentiam præferentia, tanto gratius in ſpeciem ſimplicitatis accipiebantur. Proconſul tamen Bithyniæ, & mox Conſul, vigentem ſe ac parem negotiis oſtendit: dein revolutus ad vitia, ſeu vitiorum imitatione, inter paucos familiarium Neroni aſſumptus eſt, Elegantiæ arbiter, dum nihil amœnum, & molle affluentia putat, niſi quod ei Petronius approbaviſſet. Unde invidia Tigellini, quaſi adverſus æmulum & ſcientia voluptatum potiorem. Ergo crudelitatem Principis, cui cæteræ libidines cedebant, aggreditur, amicitiam Scevini Petronio objectans; corrupto ad indicium ſervo ademtáque defenſione, & majore parte familiæ in vincla rapta. Forte illis diebus Campaniam petiverat Cæſar, & Cumas uſque progreſſus Petronius illic attinebatur. Nec tulit ultra timoris aut ſpei moras. Neque tamen præceps vitam expulit, ſed inciſas venas, ut libitum obligatas, aperire rurſum, & alloqui amicos, non per ſeria, aut quibus conſtantiæ gloriam peteret. Audiebátque referentes, nihil de immortalitate Animæ, & ſapientium placitis, ſed levia carmina & faciles verſus. Servorum alios largitione, quoſdam verberibus affecit. Iniit & vias, ſomno indulſit, ut quamquam coacta mors, fortuitæ ſimilis eſſet. Ne codicillis quidem (quod plerique pereuntium) Neronem aut Tigellinum, aut quem alium potentium adulatus eſt: ſed flagitia Principis ſub nominibus exoletorum fœminarumque, & novitate cujuſque ſtupri perſcripſit, atque obſignata miſit Neroni. Fregitque annulum, ne mox uſui eſſet ad facienda pericula. *C. Tacitus*, Annal. Lib. XVI. cap. 18, 19. *M. de St. Evremond thought that the* Petronius, *mention'd here by*

him; and certainly, he must have been one of the worthiest men in the world, since he has oblig'd so severe an Historian, to renounce his natural austerity, and to enlarge himself with pleasure upon the commendation of a voluptuous person. Not but that a luxury so exquisite, shew'd as great a delicacy of genius, as it did of relish. That *erudito luxu*, that *arbiter elegantiarum*, is the character of an ingenious politeness, far enough remov'd from the gross extravagance of a vicious man. Nor was he so possess'd by his pleasures, as to be made uncapable of business; and that tranquillity of life he so much studied, did not render him an enemy to publick employments. He had the merit of a Governor in his Government of Bithynia; the virtue of a Consul in his Consulship: but instead of making his life a slave to his dignity, as the greatest part of men do, and centring all his troubles, and all his joys there; PETRONIUS, who was of a genius superior to his high Employments, made them center in himself; and to explain my self after the manner of MONTAIGNE, he did not renounce the Man for the Magistrate. As for his Death, having carefully examin'd it, either I am deceiv'd, or it is the most glorious of Antiquity. In that of CATO, I find trouble, and even anger. The desperate posture of the affairs of the Republick, the loss of Liberty, his hatred of CESAR, much assisted his resolution; and I can't tell, if his austere humour did not degenerate into downright madness, when he tore out his own bowels.

SOCRA-

by Tacitus, is the author of the Satyr, or Romance, intitled, Titi Petronii Arbitri Satyricon, *and the Learned are generally of that opinion: but I must beg leave to dissent from them, for the reasons I have alledg'd in a marginal Note on the* Life of M. de St. Evremond, *under the year 1663.*

SOCRATES acted truly like a wise man, and with indifference enough: yet he endeavour'd to assure himself of his condition in another life, and did not: he was still reasoning about it with his friends in prison, weakly enough; and to say all, death was a considerable object to him. PETRONIUS alone hath shew'd softness and indifference in his. *Audiebátque referentes nihil de immortalitate animæ, & Sapientium placitis; sed levia carmina & faciles versus.* He not only went on in his ordinary course of life, giving liberty to some of his slaves, and chastising others, but gratify'd his fancy with those things that pleased him; and his soul, at the point of so grievous a separation, was more touch'd with the sweet and easy charms of Verse, than all the empty notions of Philosophers.

PETRONIUS leaves us nothing at his death, but an image of life; no action, no word, no circumstance, shews the perplexity of a dying person. 'Tis with him properly, that to die is to cease to live, and the *Vixit* of the Romans justly belongs to him.

II. I am not of their opinion, who believe that PETRONIUS had a mind to lash the vices of his time, and that he compos'd a Satyr with the same intention that HORACE wrote his. Unless I am deceiv'd, Morality was not oblig'd to him in this point; he is rather a nice Courtier, who turns every thing into ridicule, than a publick Censor, who makes it his business to expose immorality. And indeed, if PETRONIUS had design'd to leave us an ingenious moral in his description of pleasures, he would have endeavour'd to create in us a distaste for them; but 'tis there that vice appears with all the graces of the Author; 'tis there he shews with the greatest care, the agreeableness and politeness of his wit.

Besides,

Beſides, if he had intended to inſtruct us in a more refin'd and conceal'd method than that of precepts, we ſhould at leaſt ſee ſome example of divine or human Juſtice, upon his Debauchees. But he is ſo far from doing this, that the only honeſt man introduc'd by him, the poor LYCAS, a Merchant of great integrity, and one that ador'd the Gods, miſerably periſhes in a ſtorm, in the midſt of thoſe vicious perſons that are preſerv'd. ENCOLPIUS and GITO embrace one another, to die more cloſely united together, and death durſt not interrupt their pleaſures. The luſtful TRIPHÆNA ſaved her ſelf in a skiff, with all her trinkets; EUMOLPUS was ſo little concern'd at the danger, that he had leiſure enough to compoſe an Epigram; LYCAS, the pious LYCAS, calls to his Gods in vain for relief; and to the diſgrace of their Providence, the only innocent man in the company, is made to ſuffer for all the wicked. If we ſee ENCOLPIUS ſometimes afflicted, it does not proceed from his repentance: he kill'd his hoſt, is a fugitive, there's no ſort of crime which he has not committed; but thanks be to the ſtrong conſtitution of his conſcience, he lives without remorſe: his tears and lamentations, come from a different principle; he complains of the infidelity of GITO, who abandon'd him, and he is reduc'd to deſpair to imagine him in the arms of another, who made himſelf merry with his being alone. *Jacent nunc amatores obligati noctibus totis, & forſitan mutuis libidinibus attriti, deriderent ſolitudinem meam.*

All crimes were ſucceſsful with him, except one alone, which indeed brought upon him a rigorous puniſhment: but 'tis an offence, for which neither the divine, nor human Laws have ordain'd any chaſtiſement. He had, it ſeems, diſappointed the expectations of CIRCE; and, in truth, his Impo-

potence is the only fault that troubles him. He confeſſes, that he has been a great offender, but that he never deſerv'd death, except on this occaſion. In ſhort, without tracing the particulars of the whole ſtory, he relapſes into the ſame crime, and receives the puniſhment he deſerv'd for it, with a perfect reſignation: then he comes to himſelf, and acknowledges the anger of the Gods:

Helleſpontiaci ſequitur gravis ira Priapi.

He laments the miſerable condition, wherein he finds himſelf; *funerata eſt pars illa corporis, quâ quondam Achilles eram:* and to recover his vigour, he puts himſelf into the hands of a Prieſteſs of this God, with a very religious intention; and indeed the only one he ſhews in all his Adventures. I might add, that the good EUMOLPUS is follow'd by little children, when he recites his Verſes: but when he debauches his Scholar, the mother looks upon him as a Philoſopher; and the father, tho he lies in the ſame chamber, does not awake: ſo ſeverely is Ridicule puniſh'd by PETRONIUS, and Vice happily protected! Judge by this, if Virtue has not need of another Orator, to plead its cauſe, and be inculcated. I fancy he was of the opinion of BAUTRU; That a Gentleman, and ſtrictneſs of Morals, are inconſiſtent. *Si ergo Petronium adimus, adimus virum ingenio vere aulico, elegantiæ arbitrum, non ſapientiæ.*

III. 'Tis not to be doubted but that PETRONIUS had a mind to expoſe the debaucheries of NERO, and that this Prince was the chief object of his raillery: but whether the perſons he introduces be true, or fictitious; whether he gives us Characters according to his own fancy, or the true temper of particular perſons, 'tis very difficult to know,

and at this distance we cannot be positively assur'd of it. For my part, I am of opinion, that there is no Character in PETRONIUS but what may suit with NERO. Under TRIMALCHIO, in all probability, he derides his ridiculous magnificence, and the extravagance of his pleasures: EUMOLPUS represents to us the foolish passion he had for the Theatre: *sub nominibus exoletorum, fœminarumque, & novitate cujusque stupri, flagitia principis præscripsit*; and by an agreeable disposition of different, but imaginary persons, he exposes several follies of the Emperor, and the usual disorders of his life.

It may be alledg'd, that PETRONIUS is very opposite to himself, thus to blame Vice, Softness, and other Pleasures; he who was so ingenious in the search of them: *dum nihil amœnum & molle, affluentia putat, nisi quod ei Petronius approbavisset.* For, to speak truth, altho the Prince was of his own nature debauch'd enough, in the judgment of PLUTARCH, yet the complaisance of this Courtier, did not a little contribute to throw him into all sort of luxury and profusion. In this, as in the greatest part of those things that are deliver'd by History, a man ought to consider the difference of times. Before NERO gave himself up to these strange extravagancies, no body was so agreeable to him as PETRONIUS; insomuch that every thing pass'd for gross, that had not his approbation. This Court was, as it were, a school of studied Pleasures, wholly govern'd by the delicacy of so exquisite a Judge. Nay, I am of opinion, that the Politeness of our Author became pernicious to the publick, and that he was one of the chief that help'd to ruin some considerable persons, who made a particular profession of Wisdom and Virtue. He preach'd up nothing but Liberality, to an Emperor already prodigal; and softness to a voluptuous

man: every thing that had the face of auſterity appear'd ridiculous to him.

According to my conjectures, THRASEAS was ſometimes the ſubject of his mirth, and ſometimes HELVIDIUS. In ſhort, whoever had merit, without the art of pleaſing, was ſure to be rallied for his unfaſhionable Gravity. By this means, NERO corrupted himſelf daily more and more, and as the delicacy of pleaſures came to yield to the diſorder of debauchery, he fell into the groſſeſt extravagancies. Then TIGELLINUS, who was jealous of the agreeableneſs of PETRONIUS, and the advantages which he had over him in the Science of Pleaſures, attempted to ruin him, *quaſi adverſus æmulum, & ſcientiæ voluptatum potiorem.* It was no difficult matter for him to effect it; for the Emperor, abandon'd now to all exceſs, could no longer ſuffer ſo nice a witneſs of his infamous debaucheries: he was not ſo much troubled with a remorſe for his Crimes, as touch'd with a ſecret ſhame for the groſſneſs of his Pleaſures, when he remember'd the delicacy of the paſt. PETRONIUS, on his ſide, had no leſs diſtaſtes; and I believe, that in the time of his private diſcontents, he compoſed that ingenious Satyr, which was unhappily handed down to us, maim'd and imperfect.

We find in TACITUS, a large account of his diſgrace, and that in purſuance of PISO's Conſpiracy, the friendſhip of SCEVINUS was made the pretence of his deſtruction.

IV. PETRONIUS is to be admir'd throughout, for the purity of his Style, and the delicacy of his Sentiments; but that which more ſurprizes me, is, his great eaſineſs in giving us ingeniouſly all ſorts of Characters. TERENCE is, perhaps, the only Author of antiquity, that enters beſt into the nature

of perſons: but ſtill this fault I find in him, that he has too little variety; his whole talent being confin'd in making Servants, and old Men; a covetous Father, and a debauch'd Son; a Slave and an Intriguer, to ſpeak properly, according to their ſeveral Characters: ſo far, and no farther, the capacity of TERENCE reaches. You muſt not expect from him, either Gallantry or Paſſion, either Thoughts, or the diſcourſe of a Gentleman. PETRONIUS, who had an univerſal wit, hits upon the Genius of all profeſſions, and adapts himſelf, as he pleaſes, to a thouſand different natures. If he introduces a Declaimer, he aſſumes his air, and his ſtile ſo well, that one would ſay, he had us'd to declaim all his life. Nothing expreſſes more naturally the diſorders of a debauch'd life, than the quarrels of ENCOLPIUS and ASCYLTOS, about GITO.

Does not QUARTILLA admirably repreſent to us thoſe proſtitute Women, *quarum ſic accenſa libido, ut ſæpius peterent viros, quam peterentur?* Does not the marriage of young GITO, and innocent PANYCHIS, give us the image of a compleat wantonneſs?

All that a Sot, ridiculouſly magnificent in Banquets, a vain affecter of niceneſs, and an impertinent, are able to do, you have undoubtedly at the feaſt of TRIMALCHIO.

EUMOLPUS ſhews us NERO's extravagant folly for the Theatre, and his vanity in reciting his own Poems; and you may obſerve, as you run over ſo many noble Verſes, of which he makes an ill uſe, That an excellent Poet may be a very ill man. However, as ENCOLPIUS, tho he repreſents EUMOLPUS a maker of fantaſtical Verſes, yet diſcovers ſomething great in his Phyſiognomy; he judiciouſly takes care, all along, not to ruin the ideas he gave us of him. The infirmity he has, of

making Verſes out of ſeaſon, even in *vicinia mortis*; his fluentneſs in repeating his compoſures in all places, and at all times, anſwers his ridiculous beginning; *& ego, inquit, Poeta ſum, & ut ſpero, non humillimi ſpiritus, ſi modo aliquid coronis credendum eſt, quas etiam ad imperitos gratia deferre ſolet.* His knowledge, which was extenſive enough; his extraordinary actions; his expedients in unlucky encounters; his reſolution to ſupport his Companions in the Veſſel of LYCAS; his getting about him at Crotona that pleaſant Court of people, who were perpetually hunting after old men's eſtates; admirably well agrees with what ENCOLPIUS had promis'd us of him before: *ſenex canus exercitati vultûs, & qui videbatur magnum aliquid promittere.*

There is nothing ſo natural as the Character of CHRYSIS, and none of our Confidents come near her. Not to mention his firſt converſation with POLIENOS; what ſhe tells him of her miſtreſs, upon the affront ſhe receiv'd, is of an inimitable ſimplicity: *verum enim fatendum eſt, ex qua hora accepit injuriam, apud ſe non eſt.* Whoever has read JUVENAL, is ſufficiently acquainted with the *impotentia matronarum*, and the ill humour they were in, *ſi quando vir aut familiaris infelicius cum ipſis rem habuerat.* But no body beſides PETRONIUS could have deſcrib'd CIRCE, ſo beautiful, ſo voluptuous, and ſo polite.

ENOTHEA, the Prieſteſs of PRIAPUS, raviſhes me with the Miracles ſhe promiſes; with her inchantments, her ſacrifices, her ſorrow for the death of the conſecrated Gooſe; and the manner in which ſhe's pacified, when POLIENOS makes her a preſent, with which ſhe might purchaſe a Gooſe, and Gods too, if ſhe thought fit.

PHILU-

PHILUMENA, that complaiſant Lady, is no leſs entertaining; who, after ſhe had cullied ſeveral men out of their Eſtates, in the flower of her beauty, now being old, and by conſequence unfit for pleaſures, endeavour'd to keep up this noble trade, by the means of her Children, whom ſhe introduced with a thouſand fine diſcourſes to old Men, who had no Heirs of their own. In a word, there is no part of nature, no profeſſion, which PETRONIUS doth not admirably paint: he is a Poet, an Orator, and a Philoſopher at his pleaſure.

As for his Verſes, I find in them an agreeable force, a natural beauty, *naturali pulchritudine carmen exſurgit:* inſomuch that DOUZA cannot any longer bear with the heat and impetuoſity of LUCAN, after he has read the *Taking of Troy*, or the little *Eſſay about the Civil War* in PETRONIUS, which he prefers much above the other's *Pharſalia:*

Quam vel trecenta Cordubenſis illius
Pharſalicorum verſuum volumina [6].

Perhaps I may be deceiv'd; but in my opinion, LUCRETIUS has not treated of Dreams, in ſuch an agreeable manner as PETRONIUS, in the following Verſes:

Somnia, quæ mentes ludunt volitantibus umbris,
Non delubra Deûm, nec ab æthere numina mittunt:
Sed ſibi quiſque facit. Nam cum proſtrata ſopore
Urget membra quies, & mens ſine pondere ludit,
Quidquid luce fuit, tenebris agit. Oppida bello
Qui quatit & flammis miſerandas ſævit in urbes,
Tela videt, verſaſque acies, & funera Regum,
Atque exundantes perfuſo ſanguine campos.
Qui cauſas orare ſolent, legeſque, forumque,

L 4 *Et*

[6] Jan. Douſa Pat. Præcidaneorum Petron. *Lib.* II. *cap.* 12.

Et pavido cernunt incluſum corde tribunal.
Condit avarus opes, defoſſumque invenit aurum;
Venator ſaltus canibus quatit. Eripit undis,
Aut premit everſam periturus navita puppim.
Scribit amatori meretrix. Dat adultera munus.
Et canis in ſomnis leporis veſtigia latrat.
In noctis ſpatio miſerorum vulnera durant.

When in a Dream, preſented to our view,
Thoſe airy forms appear ſo like the true;
Nor Heav'n, nor Hell, the fancy'd Viſion ſends,
But ev'ry breaſt its own deluſion lends:
For when ſoft Sleep the body folds in eaſe,
And from the heavy maſs our fancy frees,
Whatever 'tis in which we take delight,
And think of moſt by day, we dream by night.
Th' ambitious Brave, who mighty States o'erturn,
Ruin whole Empires, and vaſt Cities burn,
From fancy'd Darts believe a darken'd ſky,
And ſee, in haſte, defeated Squadrons fly:
Here bloody Plains a ghaſtly proſpect yield,
And Monarchs ſlain nobilitate the field.
He that by day litigious knots unty'd,
And charm'd the drouſy Bench to either ſide;
By night a crowd of cringing Clients ſees,
Smiles on the fools, and kindly takes their fees.
The Miſer views his glitt'ring heaps of Gold,
And oft the viſionary ſums are told.
Then fanſies Thieves diſturb his ſhort delight;
He views their maſks, and wakens with the fright.
To Heav'n the Merchant does himſelf addreſs,
Dreaming of Wrecks, religious in diſtreſs.
Huntſmen with joy th' imagin'd Chaſe purſue,
Hollow aloud, and ſee the Stag in view.
The Miſtreſs to her abſent Lover writes,
And, as awake, with flames and darts indites,
The am'rous Wife dreams of her Lover's charms,
And hugs her Huſband with adult'rous arms.

Dogs,

Dogs, in full cry, purſue their fearful Game;
The wretched, tho aſleep, ſtill feel their pain.

And what can one compare to that voluptuous Night, whoſe image fills the Soul in ſuch a manner, that a man has need to call his Virtue to his aſſiſtance, to overcome the lively impreſſion it makes upon the mind?

Qualis nox fuit illa, Dii, Deæque!
Quam mollis thorus! hæſimus calentes,
Et transfudimus hinc & hinc labellis
Errantes animas. Valete curæ.
Mortalis ego ſic perire cœpi.

Who can the charms of that bleſt Night declare!
How ſoft, ye Gods! our warm embraces were!
Our wanton limbs like curling ivy twin'd;
By eager lips our wand'ring ſouls were join'd.
Away, all cares: I'd gladly ceaſe to live,
If joys, like theſe, I might in death receive.

Altho the declamatory Stile ſeems ridiculous to PETRONIUS, yet, for all that, he ſhews much Eloquence in his Declamations; and to demonſtrate that the moſt debauch'd are not incapable of meditation and recollection, Morality has nothing more ſerious, or better manag'd than the Reflections of ENCOLPIUS upon the inconſtancy of human Affairs, and the uncertainty of Death.

Upon every Subject that offers it ſelf, 'tis impoſſible to think more nicely, or to ſpeak with more purity. In his Narrations, he ſometimes copies after plain unaffected Nature, and contents himſelf with the graces of ſimplicity: ſometimes he gives his work the finiſhing ſtrokes, and then nothing is ſo poliſh'd. CATULLUS and MARTIAL treat of the ſame things in a groſs manner; and if any

one

one could find the ſecret of wrapping up what's obſcene, in a Language like his, I dare anſwer for the Ladies, that they would praiſe him for his diſcretion.

But that which more peculiarly belongs to PETRONIUS, is, that excepting HORACE, in a few Odes, he is, perhaps, the only perſon of Antiquity that knew how to ſpeak of Gallantry. VIRGIL is, indeed, moving in his Paſſions; the Amours of DIDO, and thoſe of ORPHEUS and EURYDICE, have charms and tenderneſs: yet there is nothing of Gallantry in them; and poor DIDO, ſo compaſſionate was her ſoul, fell in love with the pious ÆNEAS, at the bare recital of his misfortunes. OVID is witty, and eaſy; TIBULLUS delicate: but their Miſtreſſes ought to have been bred at a College [7], to know what they mean. On all occaſions they alledge Gods, and Fables, and examples drawn from the moſt remote Antiquity; they promiſe Sacrifices too, and I fancy that Monſieur CHAPELAIN learn'd of them the method of *burning Hearts in Offerings* [8]. LUCIAN, as ingenious as he is, appears groſs ſo ſoon as he ſpeaks of Love, and his Courtezans talk rather the language of the Stews, than of the Aſſemblies.

For

[7] *M. de St. Evremond ſays in the French, That they ought to have been more learned than Madam de Scuderi, who was a famous writer of Romances.*

[8] *M. Chapelain, in his Poem on the Maid of Orleans, intitled* LA PUCELLE, *Book* II. *makes the Count Dunois, who was in love with that Heroine, ſay, among other things:*

De ce feu toutefois que me ſert l'innocence,
Si tout ſage qu'il eſt il me fait violence?
Helas! il me devore; & mon cœur embraſé
Déja par ſa chaleur eſt de force épuiſé.
Et ſoit, conſumons nous d'une flamme ſi belle,
Brulons en Holocauſte au feu de la Pucelle:
Laiſſons-nous pour ſa gloire en cendres convertir,
Et tenons à bonheur d'en être le martyr.

For my own part, tho I am a great admirer of the Antients, I can't but do juſtice to our own Nation, and am perſuaded that we have a great advantage over them in this point. And indeed, after having examin'd this matter, I do not know one of thoſe great Genius's, that could have made MASSINISSA and SOPHONISBA, CESAR and CLEOPATRA, ſpeak ſo genteely of Love, as we have heard them in our Language [9]. Now, as much as others fall ſhort of us in this particular, ſo much doth PETRONIUS exceed us. We have no Romance that can boaſt of a Story ſo agreeable as that of the EPHESIAN MATRON. Nothing has ſo much of Gallantry as the Love-Letters of CIRCE and POLIENOS; and their whole adventure, whether you reſpect the Converſation, or the Deſcriptions, has a character very much above the politeneſs of our Age. You may judge, whether he was able to treat a noble Paſſion with the niceneſs it deſerves; ſince this was an affair of two perſons, that were to taſte the utmoſt pleaſure at their firſt interview.

THE

EPHESIAN MATRON.

THERE was a Lady at Epheſus [1], in ſo high a reputation for her Chaſtity, that even the Women

[9] *See the* Sophonisbe, *and the* Death of Pompey, *two Tragedies by Corneille.*

[1] *John of Salisbury, Biſhop of Chartres, who hath inſerted this ſtory out of Petronius, in his Book intitled* Policraticus, *aſſures*

Women of the neighbouring Countries came out of curiosity to see her, as a miracle. This Prude having lost her Husband, was not content, as the custom then was, to assist at the Funeral Rites with her Hair dishevel'd, and to beat her Breast before the people, she resolv'd to follow the deceas'd even to his Monument; and having laid him in a Sepulchre, after the Grecian manner, she watch'd the Body, and wept incessantly over it, abandoning her self to all the excesses of Grief and Despair, and so obstinately determin'd to destroy her self by Hunger, that neither her Relations nor Friends were able to conquer this fatal resolution. The Magistrates of the place, who met with no better success, were the last that took their leaves of her; and in this manner, our illustrious Matron, lamented by all the world as a dead person, had already pass'd five days without eating. A faithful and affectionate Maid, bore this unfortunate Lady company, mingling her tears with those of her mistress, and renewing the light as often as there was occasion. Nothing was talk'd of in the City, but this unprecedented Adventure, and every one agreed, that this was the first example of conjugal Love and Chastity, which the world had ever beheld.

It happen'd, at this very time, that the Governour of the Province order'd certain Robbers to be affix'd to Crosses near the dismal Cave, where this virtuous

sures us, from an antient Author, that there was, in effect, at Ephesus such a Lady as is here describ'd by Petronius. Tu historiam, *says he,* aut fabulam, quod his verbis refert Petronius, pro libitu appellabis. Ita tamen ex facto accidisse Ephesi, & Flavianus auctor est. Mulieremque tradit impietatis suæ, & sceleris paricidialis & adulterii pœnas luisse. *Joannes Sarisberiensis* POLYCRATICUS, sive de nugis Curialium, & vestigiis Philosophorum, *Lib.* VIII. *cap.* 11.

virtuous Lady bewail'd her ſelf over the Body of her dear Huſband. The following night, a Soldier who was appointed Centinel to watch the Croſſes, leſt the Bodies ſhould be ſtolen, perceiving a light in the Monument, and hearing the ſad complaints of a perſon in affliction, was led, by a curioſity common to all men, to ſee what the matter might be. He went down into the Sepulchre, and ſurprized at the ſight of a very beautiful Woman, he continued for ſome time frighted, as if he had ſeen ſome Fantom; then earneſtly beholding the dead Body, which lay ſtretch'd out before his eyes, conſidering the Lady's tears, her face diſfigur'd with her nails, and all the other marks of ſolemn woe, he imagin'd, at laſt, what the matter was: that a poor diſconſolate Woman gave her ſelf up to ſorrow, and could not bear, without deſpair, the death of him ſhe had loſt. Upon this, he went back, and brought his ſmall Supper with him to the Monument, and began to exhort her not to perſevere any longer in an unprofitable ſorrow, and inſignificant complaints; that all men have one common Exit out of this world, and muſt go to the ſame place: not omitting any of the Arguments that are uſually employ'd to cure the moſt diſtemper'd minds. But the Lady being ſtill the more provok'd by ſo unexpected a Conſolation, redoubles her Lamentations, beats her breaſt with more violence than before, and tears off her hair, which ſhe throws upon the miſerable Body.

The Soldier was not at all diſcourag'd by this, but with the ſame exhortations endeavours to perſuade her to take ſome nouriſhment; till the Maid, who was undoubtedly conquer'd by the ſmell of the wine, as well as by his diſcourſe, ſtretch'd out her hand to the perſon, who invited them both in ſo obliging a manner; and having recruited her ſpirits by

by what ſhe eat and drank, began her ſelf to combat the obſtinacy of her Miſtreſs. " And what " will you be the better, ſaid ſhe, by thus ſtarving " your ſelf; burying your ſelf alive; and giving " up to fate, a ſoul he does not yet demand back " again?

" *Think you theſe Tears, this pompous train of Wo,*
" *Are known, or valu'd by the Ghoſts below?*

" What! do you imagine you can bring the dead " to life again, contrary to the order of Nature? " for once be adviſed by me; lay aſide this weak- " neſs, which none but Women are capable of; " and enjoy the advantages of Life, while Heaven " gives you leave to do it. This very Body which " you ſee before you, ſufficiently ſhews you the va- " lue of Life, and warns you to manage it better."

Few people liſten with regret, when they are preſs'd to eat on the like occaſions: we eaſily ſuffer our ſelves to be perſuaded to live. Thus our Matron, famiſhed by ſo long an abſtinence, ſuffered her obſtinacy to be overcome, and took her Victuals with the ſame greedineſs as her Maid, who had yielded before. You know that Temptations generally follow after meals: therefore with the very ſame arms that the Soldier employ'd to combat her Deſpair, did he now attack her Chaſtity; and as this young fellow appeared neither diſagreeable, nor deſtitute of wit; the Maid was not wanting on her part, to do him all the good offices ſhe could, telling to her Miſtreſs:

Why will you ſtill reſiſt a pleaſing Flame?

In ſhort, not to hold you any longer in ſuſpence, the virtuous Matron obſerv'd the ſame abſtinence as to the other part of her body; and the Soldier, compleatly victorious, ſucceeded in his attempts upon both. Thus they continued together, not only the firſt night of their enjoyment, but the next day alſo, and the next after that: the doors of the Monument being ſo carefully ſhut, that whoever had come thither, whether a friend or ſtranger, would, without doubt, have concluded, that the moſt pious Wife in the univerſe, had expir'd over the Body of her Huſband.

The Soldier charm'd with the beauty of his fair Miſtreſs, and the ſecrecy of his good fortune, laid out all the little ſtock he had upon Proviſions, and as ſoon as night came on he carried them to the Monument. In the mean time, the Relations of one of the men that were hang'd, perceiving that no body look'd after them, carried off the Body in the night, and buried it. But the poor Soldier, who ſuffer'd this trick to be play'd him, while he was too buſily purſuing his private pleaſures, finding on the morning one of theſe Croſſes without a Body, repair'd immediately to his Miſtreſs in the greateſt apprehenſions of puniſhment, and acquainted her with what had happen'd to him; adding, that as to himſelf he was fully reſolv'd not to wait his Condemnation, but to execute a piece of juſtice upon himſelf, and puniſh his fatal negligence with his own hand: that the only favour he begg'd of her, was, to take care of his Burial; and to put him in the ſame Tomb, fatal both to her Huſband and her Lover. At this, our Matron, who had an equal ſhare of Charity and Diſcretion, *Heaven forbid*, ſaid ſhe, *that I ſhould ever behold, at the ſame time, the funerals of two Perſons who are ſo very dear to me: I will rather chooſe to hang the Deceas'd, than to occaſion the death of the Living.* According to this

this fine Speech, ſhe drew her Huſband's Corps out of the Coffin, in order to faſten it to the Croſs from whence the Body was ſtolen. The Soldier immediately put in execution the ſeaſonable advice of ſo diſcreet a Lady; and next morning every one wonder'd *how a dead Man ſhould be able to find his way to the Gibbet.*

A

CONVERSATION

BETWEEN

The Mareſchal D'HOCQUINCOURT, *and Father* CANAYE.

BEING one day at dinner with the Mareſchal D'HOCQUINCOURT [1], Father CANAYE, who din'd there alſo, inſenſibly led the diſcourſe to that ſubmiſſion of mind, which Religion requires of us; and having related to us many new Miracles, and ſome modern Revelations, he concluded, that we ought to avoid, like a plague, thoſe Free-Thinkers, who pretend to examine every thing by Reaſon.

" Who do you talk to of Free-Thinkers, ſaid " the Mareſchal, and who knew them better than " I did? BARDOUVILLE and ST. IBAL were " my

[1] *The Mareſchal d'Hocquincourt was then* (1654) *at Peronne, of which place he was Governour.*

" my beſt friends; they engag'd me in the Party " of the Count [2], againſt Cardinal RICHELIEU: " why, I know 'em ſo well, that I could write a " Book of their Sayings. When BARDOUVILLE " was dead, and ST. IBAL had retir'd into Hol- " land, I came acquainted with LA FRETTE " and SAUVEBOEUF; theſe were none of your " Wits, but brave, gallant fellows. LA FRET- " TE was as ſtout as HERCULES, and my very " good friend; and I think that I ſufficiently ſhew'd " my ſelf to be his in the Sickneſs that carried " him off. I ſaw him dying of a ſmall Fever, like " a Woman; and was enraged to ſee LA FRET- " TE, that gallant LA FRETTE, who fought " BOUTEVILLE, go out, neither better nor " worſe, than a farthing Candle. SAUVEBOEUF " and I, were concern'd to preſerve the honour of " our Friend; which made us reſolve to piſtol " him, that he might die like a Man of Honour. " I clapp'd a piſtol to his head, when a ſon of a " whore of a Jeſuit puſh'd my arm aſide, and hin- " der'd my deſign: this put me in ſo great a paſ- " ſion againſt him, that I preſently turn'd Janſe- " niſt."

Take notice, my Lord, ſaid Father CANAYE, *take notice how Satan is always in wait for us:* circuit quærens quem devoret. *You are ſomewhat piqu'd againſt our Order, and he takes that occaſion to ſurprize, and devour you; nay, worſe than devour you, to make you turn Janſeniſt.* Vigilate, vigilate; *a man cannot be too much upon his guard againſt the common enemy of mankind.*

" The Father's in the right, *ſaid the Mareſchal,* " I have been told that the Devil never ſleeps. We " ought to do the like, and be always upon our " guard; for, ſharp is the word. But let us

[2] *The Count de Soiſſons.*

" leave the Devil, and talk of my likings. I have " loved War above all things; Madam DE MONT- " BAZON next to war; and ſuch as you ſee me, " Philoſophy after Madam DE MONTBAZON. *You have reaſon to love War*, replied the Father, *for War loves you too; it has crown'd you with Honours. Why, I'd have you to know, that I am alſo a Warrior. The King has given me the direction of the Hoſpital of his Army in Flanders: is not this enough to intitle a man a Warrior? Who would have thought that Father* CANAYE *ſhould turn Soldier? yet I am one, my Lord, and do God no leſs ſervice in the Camp, than I did in the College of Clermont. You may therefore love War innocently; to go to the War, is to ſerve one's Prince; and to ſerve one's Prince, is to ſerve God. But as for what concerns Madam* DE MONTBAZON, *if you have luſted after her, if you have look'd upon her with a carnal eye, you muſt permit me to tell you that your Deſires were criminal. You did not luſt after her, my Lord, but only love her with an innocent friendſhip.*

" How, Father! *ſaid the Mareſchal*, would you " have me love like a Coxcomb? The Mareſchal " D'HOCQUINCOURT has not learn'd in Ladies " Bedchambers, to do nothing more than to ſigh. " I long'd, Father, I long'd: you underſtand my " meaning." I LONG'D! I LONG'D! *In truth, my Lord, you rally with a good grace. Our Fathers of St. Louis, would be ready to croſs themſelves at theſe* I LONG'D: *but when a man has been a great while in the Army, he learns to hear every thing. Well, well, you ſpeak this, my Lord, to make your ſelf merry.*

" There is no Merriment in the caſe, Father: " Do you know to what a pitch I lov'd her?" *Uſque ad aras*, MY LORD. " No *aras*, Father. " Look ye here, *ſaid the Mareſchal, taking a Knife,* " *and graſping the Haft faſt in his hand*, Look ye " here,

" here, if ſhe had commanded me to kill you, I " would have ſheath'd this Blade in your heart." Father CANAYE, ſurpriz'd at this diſcourſe, but more frighted at this ſudden tranſport, had immediate recourſe to his mental Devotion, and ſecretly pray'd to his Maker, that he would deliver him from the danger wherein he found himſelf. But not truſting altogether to Prayer, he inſenſibly got out of the Mareſchal's reach, by an unperceivable motion of his Buttocks. The Mareſchal kept ſtill within Arms-length of him, by the ſame motion, with the Knife lifted up, ſo that one would have ſworn, that he was going to put the Lady's order in execution.

My ill nature made me take pleaſure, for a while, in the fright of our reverend ſpark; but fearing, at length, that the Mareſchal, in his paſſion, might render that ſcene melancholy, which was before pleaſant; I put him in mind that Madam DE MONTBAZON [3] was dead; and told him, That it was Father CANAYE's good fortune, that he had nothing to fear from a perſon that was no more.

" God does every thing for the beſt, *replied the* " *Mareſchal:* the faireſt Woman in the World [4] " began to be troubleſome to me, when ſhe kick'd " up her heels and died. She had always at her " tail one Abbot DE RANCE [5], who diſcours'd

 " with

[3] *The Dutcheſs of Montbazon, Daughter to Count de Vertus, was then ſtill alive; for ſhe died in the year* 1657. *M. de St. Evremond was not ignorant of it, but he thought that this Anacroniſm might be eaſily forgiven him, conſidering it was difficult otherwiſe to recover Father Canaye from the fright he was in.*

[4] *Thus the Mareſchal d'Hocquincourt called Madam de Montbazon.*

[5] *Armand John Baptiſt de Rancé, ſo famous afterwards under the name of the* Abbot de la Trappe, *was one of the Dutcheſs of Montbazon's Lovers: and let his Panegyriſts ſay what they pleaſe, 'tis certain, that the ſudden and unexpected death of that Lady,*

" with her about GRACE before company, and " entertain'd her with ſomething elſe in private. " This made me forſake the Janſeniſts. Before that " I never miſs'd a Sermon of Father DESMA- " RES, and never ſwore but by the Gentlemen of " Port-Royal; but I have confeſs'd my ſelf to the " Jeſuits ever ſince: and if my Son has ever any " Children, I am reſolv'd they ſhall go to the Col- " lege of Clermont, or elſe I'll diſinherit 'em."

Oh, how wonderful are the ways of God! cried out Father CANAYE: *How profound is the myſtery of his Juſtice! A fopling of a Janſeniſt pretends love to a Lady whom my Lord wiſhed well to: the merciful God makes uſe of Jealouſy to put the Conſcience of my Lord into our hands*; mirabilia judicia tua, Domine, *wonderful are thy Judgments, O Lord!*

After the good Father had ended his pious Reflections, I thought I might be allowed to have a ſhare in the Converſation; ſo I aſk'd the Mareſchal, if the Love of Philoſophy did not ſucceed the Paſſion he had for Madam DE MONTBAZON?

" A plague on't, I have lov'd Philoſophy but too " well, *ſaid the Mareſchal*, I have loved it but too " well; but I have left it at laſt, and will trouble " my head no more with it. A Devil of a Philo- " ſopher had ſo puzzled my Brain about the *firſt* " *Parents*, *the Apple*, *the Serpent*, *terreſtrial Para-* " *diſe*, and *the Cherubims*, that I had like to have " believ'd

Lady, was one of the principal Motives of his Converſion and Retirement. Madam de Montbazon died of the Small Pox in a country Seat, where the Abbot being come, from Paris, upon the firſt news of her illneſs, and finding no body in the entry, he went up to the Ducheſs's Apartment thro' the Back-ſtairs; and the firſt Object that preſented it ſelf to his ſight, was Madam de Montbazon's Corps, diſfigur'd in the moſt horrid and ghaſtly manner, and ready to be laid in the Coffin. This made ſo lively an impreſſion upon him, that he renounced the World, and ſettled in his Abbey of La Trappe a very auſtere Reform. He died on the 26th of October, 1700.

" believ'd nothing at all. The Devil take me, if " I believ'd a ſyllable then; but ever ſince I could " endure to be crucified for my Religion. Not " that I ſee more reaſon in it now; but, on the " contrary, leſs than ever: but, for all that, I " could ſuffer my ſelf to be crucified, without know- " ing why, or wherefore."

So much the better, my Lord, reply'd the Father, twanging it very devoutly thro' the Noſe, *ſo much the better; theſe are no human motions; they proceed from God.* NO REASON! *that's the true Religion this:* NO REASON! *What an extraordinary grace, my Lord, has Heaven beſtow'd upon you?* Eſtote ſicut infantes, *be as infants. Infants preſerve their innocency; and why? becauſe they have no Reaſon.* Beati pauperes ſpiritu, *bleſſed are the poor in ſpirit; they ſin not: the reaſon is, becauſe they have no Reaſon.* NO REASON: WITHOUT KNOWING WHY, OR WHEREFORE. *Oh excellent words! they ought to be written in letters of gold:* NOT THAT I SEE MORE REASON IN IT NOW; BUT, ON THE CONTRARY, LESS THAN EVER! *in truth, this is divine for them, that have any taſte of heavenly things:* NO REASON! *what an extraordinary grace, my Lord, has God beſtow'd upon you?*

The Father had carried farther his holy hatred againſt Reaſon, if ſome Letters had not come from Court to the Mareſchal, which interrupted ſo pious a Converſation. The Mareſchal read them ſoftly to himſelf; and afterwards he was pleas'd to tell the Company the contents. " If I affected to be " thought a Politician, as others do, I ſhould re- " tire into my Cloſet, to read Diſpatches from the " Court: but I always act and ſpeak with an open " heart. The Cardinal ſends me word, that Ste- " nay's taken[6]; that the Court will be here within

[6] *Stenay was taken the ſixth of Auguſt* 1654.

" eight days; and that the command of the Army " that made the Siege, is given me, in order to " go and relieve Arras, with TURENNE and " LA FERTE'. I remember well that TURENNE ſuffer'd me to be beaten [7] by the Prince of " CONDE', when the Court was at Gien; perhaps " I may find an opportunity to be even with him. " If Arras were reliev'd, and TURENNE beaten, " I ſhould be content [8]; I'll do what I can: I ſay " no more."

He would have related to us all the particulars of the Battle, and what reaſon he thought he had to complain of Monſieur DE TURENNE: but we were inform'd, that the Convoy was got already a good way out of town, which made us take our leaves ſooner than we intended to do.

Father CANAYE having no Horſe of his own, deſir'd the Mareſchal to lend him one to carry him to the Camp. " And what ſort of a Horſe will " you have, Father?" ſays the Mareſchal. *I will make you the ſame anſwer, my Lord, as good Father* SUAREZ *made to the Duke of* MEDINA SIDONIA *upon the like occaſion*; qualem me decet eſſe, manſuetum; *ſuch an one as I ought to be, gentle and tractable.* " *Qualem me decet eſſe, manſuetum!* I " underſtand a little Latin, ſaid the Mareſchal, " *manſuetum* is a fitter word for Sheep than Horſes. Let the Father have my Horſe; I love the " whole Order, and am his Friend, therefore let " them give him my beſt Horſe."

I went to diſpatch ſome ſmall buſineſs of my own, but ſtay'd not long before I rejoin'd the Convoy. We paſs'd without danger; but not without ſome fatigue

[7] *At Blaneau the ſeventh of April* 1652.

[8] *Theſe three Mareſchals having forced the Lines in three places, beat the Spaniards, entred Arras, and obliged the Prince of Condé to retire.*

fatigue for poor Father CANAYE. I met him upon the march, mounted on one of the beſt Stone-Horſes of Monſieur D'HOCQUINCOURT. 'Twas a mettleſom fiery Devil, reſtleſs, and always in motion; that champ'd his bit eternally; ſtill went on one ſide, neigh'd every minute; and what moſt offended the modeſty of the Father, he very indecently miſtook all the Horſes that came near him for Mares. *What do I ſee, Father?* ſaid I coming up to him; *what a Horſe have they given you? where is good Father* SUAREZ's *Nag, that you aſk'd ſo earneſtly for?* "Ah, Sir, *ſays he*, I "am e'en ſpent, I am bruis'd to pieces."—— He was going on with his complaints, when a Hare ſtarted. An hundred Horſemen immediately hurried away in confuſion after the Courſe, and we heard preſently more diſcharges of Piſtols, than at a ſkirmiſh. The Father's Horſe being us'd to fire, under the Mareſchal, ran away with his rider, and made him penetrate inſtantly beyond their confus'd ranks. 'Twas a very pleaſant ſight to ſee a Jeſuit at the head of all this company, in ſpite of himſelf. By good fortune Puſs was kill'd; and I found the Father in the midſt of thirty horſemen, who all gave him the honour of a chaſe, which might deſerve the name of a Rencounter. The Father receiv'd their commendations with a ſeeming modeſty; but in his mind he deſpis'd very much the *manſuetum* of good Father SUAREZ, and hugg'd himſelf with the wonders he thought he had done on the Mareſchal's Barbary horſe. However, 'twas not long before he remembred that fine ſaying of SOLOMON, *Vanitas vanitatum, & omnia vanitas.* As he grew cool, he felt a ſmart, which the heat had render'd inſenſible; and falſe glory yielding to real pain, he wiſh'd for the eaſe and quiet life of the College he had quitted. But all theſe reflections ſignified nothing; he muſt go to the Camp, and

he was ſo tir'd of his horſe, that I ſaw him once ready to abandon his Bucephalus, and walk a-foot at the head of the infantry.

I comforted him for his paſt fatigue, and freed him from any ſuch inconveniency for the future, by giving him the eaſieſt Nag he could have wiſh'd. He return'd me a thouſand thanks, and was ſo ſenſible of my civility, that laying aſide all cautious regards to his profeſſion, he convers'd with me more like an honeſt ſincere fellow-traveller, than a Jeſuit[9]. I aſk'd him what his opinion was of Monſieur D'HOCQUINCOURT? *He's a worthy Gentleman*, ſaid he: *he's a good ſoul. He has quitted the Janſeniſts; and our Order is oblig'd to him: but for my part, I ſhall never ſit at table near him, nor borrow a horſe of him.*

Being much pleas'd with this firſt freedom, I had a mind to try him farther. "Whence come, *continu'd I*, the great animoſities between the Janſe- "niſts and your Fathers? do they proceed from "your differing in opinion about the Doctrine of "GRACE?" *What nonſenſe*, ſaid he, *what nonſenſe it is, to think that we hate one another for not having the ſame opinion about GRACE! 'tis neither that, nor the* FIVE PROPOSITIONS, *that have ſet us at variance; the jealouſy of governing Conſciences is the cauſe of all the miſchief. The Janſeniſts found us in poſſeſſion of the government, and had a mind to diſpoſſeſs us. Now, to compaſs their ends, they make uſe of methods quite contrary to ours. We employ gentleneſs and indulgence, and they affect auſterity and rigour. We comfort ſouls by the examples of God's mercy; and they frighten them by thoſe of his juſtice. They would ſubdue by the means of Fear,*

[9] *M. de St. Evremond had ſtudied under Father Canaye, at the College of Clermont, as I have obſerved in his* Life.

Fear, thoſe whom we endeavour to attract by the blandiſhment of Hope. Not but that both of us have a mind to ſave men; but each has alſo a deſign to advance his credit, by ſaving them; and to ſpeak freely to you, the intereſt of the Director is generally preferr'd before the ſalvation of him who is under his care. I talk to you after quite another manner than I did to the Mareſchal. I was a downright Jeſuit with him, but with you I uſe the freedom of a Soldier. I commended very much the new character which his laſt profeſſion had made him take up; and he ſeem'd to be well pleaſed with this commendation. I had continu'd it longer, but night approaching, we were oblig'd to part: the Father being as much content with my uſage of him, as I was ſatisfied with the confidence he repos'd in me.

A

CONVERSATION

BETWEEN

MY LORD D'AUBIGNY[1],

AND

M. DE ST. EVREMOND.

HAVING one day related to my Lord D'AUBIGNY the Converſation I had with Father CANAYE; "It is but reaſon, *ſaid he*, that you "ſhould meet with as much frankneſs among us, "as you have done among the Jeſuits. Do but take "the trouble to hear me ſpeak, and I don't doubt "but you'll find me as honourable and ſincere, as the "reverend Father you mention.

"I muſt acquaint you, in the firſt place, that we "have, amongſt us, very great Wits, who pro-"pagate Janſeniſm by their Writings; vain Sophiſ-"ters, who, to credit themſelves by being Janſe-"niſts, entertain continual Diſputes in private hou-"ſes; and wiſe and cunning perſons, who prudent-"ly

[1] *Lewis Steuart, Lord d'Aubigny, Uncle to the Duke of Richmond and Lenox, Lord Almoner to Queen Catherine. See* M. de St. Evremond's Life, *under the years* 1662 *and* 1665.

" ly govern both the other. You'll find in the " firſt a great knowledge, a competent deal of ho- " neſty, often too much heat, and ſometimes ſome " animoſity. There is in the ſecond, a great deal " of obſtinacy and ſelf-conceit: thoſe that are leaſt " uſeful, fortify the Party by their numbers; and " the moſt conſiderable raiſe its credit by their qua- " lity. As for the Politicians, they employ every " one according to his talent; and govern the " whole machine, by ſprings unknown to thoſe ve- " ry perſons who are acted by them.

" Thoſe who preach, or write upon GRACE, " and treat that celebrated and ſo long debated " queſtion; thoſe who place the Council above the " Pope, oppoſe his Infallibility, and thwart the " great pretenſions of the Court of Rome, are per- " ſuaded of what they ſay: tho capable to change " their opinion, if the Jeſuits ſhould one day think " fit to alter theirs. Our Directors do not much " regard the Doctrine: their principal aim is to ſet " up one Society againſt the other; to ſecure for " them a Party in the Church; and out of a Party " in the Church, a Cabal at Court. They introduce " a reformation into a Monaſtery, without reform- " ing themſelves: they extol penance without prac- " tiſing it: they cauſe ſome perſons, who endea- " vour to diſtinguiſh themſelves by being ſingular, " to diet on Herbs, whilſt they live as well as thoſe " that have the moſt delicate palates. Neverthe- " leſs, our Directors, ſuch as I repreſent them, do " Janſeniſm more ſervice by their Directions, than " our beſt Writers by their fine Books.

" Our preſervation is owing to a wiſe and pru- " dent management: and, if I miſtake not, ſhould " ever M. DE BELIEVRE, M. DE LEGUE, " and M. DU GUE'-BAGNOLS, fail us, there will " happen a great change in Janſeniſm. The reaſon " of it is, becauſe our opinions will have much ado

" to ſubſiſt by themſelves: for they put an eternal " conſtraint upon Nature; take off from Religion " what's comfortable in it, and put in its place " Fear, Pain, and Deſpair. The Janſeniſts, en- " deavouring to make all men Saints, do not find " ten in a whole Kingdom, to make ſuch Chriſ- " tians as they would have them. Chriſtianity is " divine: but they are Men that embrace it; and " therefore we muſt, by all means, calculate every " thing for human capacities. Too auſtere a Phi- " loſophy makes few wiſe men; too rigorous Po- " liticks, few good ſubjects; too hard a Religion, " few religious Perſons whoſe devotion is of long " continuance. Nothing can be laſting, which " does not ſuit with Nature. GRACE, of which " we talk ſo much, ſuits it ſelf with it: for God " makes uſe of the docility of our minds, and of " the tenderneſs of our hearts, to make himſelf " belov'd. 'Tis certain, that too rigid Divines " raiſe a greater averſion againſt themſelves, than " againſt ſins. The penance they preach up, makes " people prefer the eaſineſs of continuing in vice, " before the difficulties that attend the getting out " of it.

" The other extreme appears to me equally vi- " cious. If I hate moroſe people, who make a ſin " of every thing, I hate no leſs thoſe eaſy and com- " plaiſant Teachers, who make a ſin of nothing; " who countenance the depravation of nature; and " become ſecret favourers of immorality. The " Goſpel, in their hands, is more indulgent than " Morals; and Religion, when manag'd by them, " does not ſo ſtrongly oppoſe vice, as Reaſon does. " I love learned honeſt men, who make a ſound " judgment of our actions; who ſeriouſly exhort " us to the good: and, as far as in them lies, diſ- " ſuade us from the bad. I would have them know " the true difference of things, by a juſt and nice diſcern-

" diſcernment; I would have them diſtinguiſh a " Paſſion, from the effect of it; a Deſign, from " the execution; Vice, from Crime; Pleaſures, " from Vice: I would have them excuſe our frail- " ties, and condemn our diſorders; I would not " have them confound light, ſimple, and natural " appetites, with wicked and perverſe inclinations: " in a word, I am for Chriſtian Morals, neither " ſevere, nor remiſs."

THE IRISH PROPHET[1]. A NOVEL.

AT the time that Monſieur DE COMMINGES was Ambaſſador from the Moſt Chriſtian King, to the King of Great Britain, there came to London an Iriſh PROPHET, who paſs'd for a great performer of Miracles; according to the opinion of the credulous, and, perhaps, his own perſuaſion. Some perſons of quality having deſir'd Monſieur DE COMMINGES to ſend for him to his houſe, that they might ſee ſome of his Prodigies, he was very willing to grant them that ſatisfaction, as well to gratify his own natural curioſity, as out of com-

[1] *Valentine Greatraks, the Iriſh Stroaker. See the* Life of M. de St. Evremond, *under the year* 1666.

complaiſance to them: and ſo he ſent for this pretended Prophet.

Upon the noiſe, which this news made in all parts of the town, the Ambaſſador's houſe was ſoon fill'd with ſick people, who came with a full aſſurance of being cur'd. The Iriſhman made the company wait for him ſome time; and after an impatient expectation, the ſick and the curious ſaw him arrive with a grave, but plain countenance, which carried in it not the leaſt mark of an impoſtor. Monſieur DE COMMINGES prepar'd himſelf to examine him to the bottom, hoping he might enlarge himſelf with pleaſure, on all he had read in VAN HELMONT and BODIN; but, to his great concern, he was not able to effect it; for the crowd was ſo great, and the infirm preſs'd on ſo eagerly, to be cur'd firſt, that they had much ado, with threats, and even force, to regulate their ranks.

The Iriſh Prophet aſcrib'd all indiſpoſitions to Spirits; and all infirmities, according to him, were Poſſeſſions. The firſt Man that was preſented to him, was one troubled with the Gout and Rheumatiſm, which he had, in vain, endeavour'd to get cur'd of. This our Wonder-maker obſerving, *I have ſeen long ago*, ſaid he, *this ſort of Spirits in Ireland. Theſe are watry Spirits, that bring coldneſs, and occaſion an overflowing of humours in theſe poor bodies.* THOU EVIL SPIRIT, WHO HAST LEFT THE HABITATION OF THE WATERS, TO COME AND AFFLICT THIS MISERABLE BODY, I COMMAND THEE TO QUIT THY NEW ABODE, AND TO RETURN TO THY ANTIENT DWELLING. Having ſaid this, the ſick man retir'd; and another came in his room, who complain'd he was tormented with melancholy Vapours. He was, indeed, one of thoſe we commonly call Hypocho-

d:

driacs and Fancy-ſick, altho they are but too much ſo in effect. AIRY SPIRIT, ſaid the Iriſhman, RETURN INTO THE AIR, TO EXERCISE THY POWER IN RAISING STORMS; AND STIR UP NO MORE HURRICANES IN THIS SAD AND MISERABLE BODY.

This ſick perſon made way for another, who, according to the opinion of our Prophet, was a puny Hobgoblin, unable to reſiſt one moment the force of his Spell. He fancy'd he had found him out by certain marks which did not appear to us; and ſmiling on the aſſembly, *This ſort of Spirits*, ſaid he, *are ſeldom troubleſom, and generally diverting*. In ſhort, he knew every thing that related to Spirits. He was acquainted with their numbers, their ranks, their names, their imployments and functions; nay, he boaſted that he underſtood the intrigues of Demons, much better than the affairs of Men.

You cannot imagine what a reputation he gain'd in a very little time. Both Catholicks and Proteſtants came to him from all parts; and you would have ſaid, that the power of Heaven was lodg'd in the hands of this man, when an unexpected Adventure deſtroy'd the wonderful opinion which the publick had entertain'd of him.

A Country Gentleman and his Lady, who had been married for ſome time, came to ſeek relief in his miracle-working Virtue, againſt certain Spirits of Diſcord, which, they ſaid, diſturbed their conjugal union, and the peace of their family. The Gentleman was about forty five years old, and look'd like a Perſon of eſtate and quality. Methinks, I have the Lady yet before my eyes. She was about thirty five years old, and was perſonable enough; but one might eaſily read in her face, that ſhe had been much handſomer formerly. I nam'd the Huſband firſt, for the dignity of his rank;

rank; yet the Wife would ſpeak firſt: whether it was becauſe ſhe believ'd her ſelf to be moſt tormented by her ſpirit, or that ſhe was only prompted by the talkative appetite, which is ſo natural to her ſex.

" My Huſband, *ſaid ſhe*, is one of the beſt men " in the world: I give him a thouſand diſquiets, " and he gives me no fewer in his turn. I would " fain live comfortably with him, and ſhould not " fail of my deſires, if a ſtrange Spirit, with which " I feel my ſelf poſſeſſed at certain times, did not " make me ſo haughty and ill-humour'd, that there's " no enduring of me. After theſe agitations are " over, I return to my natural good humour; and " then omit no fond endearments to endeavour to " pleaſe my Huſband: but his Demon poſſeſſes " him when mine forſakes me; and this very Huſ- " band of mine, who bears my tranſports ſo patient- " ly, is a downright fury to me, when I am calm." Here ſtopt our Lady, who, in all appearance, ſtated her caſe truly; and the Huſband, who ſeem'd to be no leſs ſincere than his Wife, began his diſcourſe, as follows:

" Whatever reaſon I have to complain of my " Wife's Devil, I am, however, oblig'd to him, " that he has not taught her to lye; for I muſt " own, that ſhe has ſaid nothing but what is lite- " rally true. All the time that ſhe appears to me " to be in theſe agitations, I am compos'd; but " as ſoon as her Spirit leaves her in peace, mine " torments me in its turn; and as it inſpires me " with new courage, and new forces, I make her " then know the dependance of a Wife, and the " ſuperiority of a Huſband. Thus our lives are " ſpent in continual war, either offenſive or defen- " ſive; which makes our condition as miſerable as " can be imagin'd. Thus, Doctor, have I acquaint- " ed you with our torments, and if you have a

" remedy

" remedy for them, I desire you to be our deli-
" verer. The cure of a distemper so strange as
" this of ours, will bring you no small reputation."

These are neither Hobgoblins nor Fairies, said the Irishman; *they are Spirits of the first Order, and belong to Lucifer's Legion: proud Demons; great enemies to obedience; and very hard to expel. You will not take it amiss, Gentlemen*, pursu'd he, turning to the assembly, *if I examine my Books a little; for I have occasion for Words out of the common road.* Upon this he withdrew into a closet, in order to turn over his Books and Papers; and after he had rejected a hundred Forms, as too weak to combat such powerful enemies, he pitch'd, at last, upon one that was able, as he thought, to confound and expel all the Devils in Hell.

The first effect of the Conjuration was upon himself; for his eyes began to roul in his head, with so many grimaces and convulsions, that he might very well pass for a man possess'd, to those who came for a remedy against Possession. After he had star'd and look'd about him, he fix'd his eyes upon this virtuous couple; and striking both of them with a Wand, which could not be without virtue: BE GONE YE SPIRITS OF DISSENSION, says he, BE GONE, AND EXERCISE DISCORD IN HELL, AND BY YOUR DEPARTURE LET THAT HAPPY UNION BE RE-ESTABLISHED, WHICH YOU HAVE SO IMPIOUSLY BROKEN. Then he approach'd softly to the Ears of the pretended possess'd, and raising the tone of his voice; I HEAR YOU MURMUR, DEVILS, AT THE OBEDIENCE WHICH YE ARE FORCED TO PAY ME: BUT WERE YE TO BURST WITH MADNESS, YE MUST BE GONE: DEPART, DEPART. *And you, my friends, go and merrily enjoy that repose, which ye have been depriv'd of so long.* " Enough for this

" time, Gentlemen; I proteſt to you, that I am " all over in a ſweat with the fatigue, which the " oppoſition of theſe obſtinate Devils has given " me. I believe I have had to deal with two thou- " ſand Spirits in my time, who, all together, have " not given me ſo much pain and trouble as theſe."

The Devils being thus diſpatch'd away, the Iriſhman retir'd; all the company went out of the houſe; and our married couple return'd to their lodgings, with a ſatisfaction more miraculous than the Prodigy which had been wrought in their favour. When they came home, every thing appeared agreeable to them, upon this new alteration of mind, which created a new diſpoſition in their ſenſes. They found a ſmiling air in every thing; they look'd upon themſelves with pleaſure; and were not wanting in ſweet and tender words to expreſs their love. But, vain delights, how little dependance there is upon your duration! and how prepoſterouſly do perſons, that are born to misfortunes, rejoice when they obtain one ſhort moment of happineſs!

Such was the tranquillity of our married couple, when a Lady of their acquaintance came, to wiſh them joy for their cure. They anſwer'd this civility in a very obliging manner; and the uſual compliments, on this occaſion, being made and return'd, the Huſband began a very pertinent converſation upon the happy condition they were now in, after ſo many miſeries they had endur'd. His Wife, either to cauſe a greater admiration of this Miracle, or elſe to pleaſe her own malicious humour, enlarg'd her ſelf with ſatisfaction upon the tricks which her Devil had ſuggeſted to her, to torment her Huſband. Upon which, the Huſband, jealous of the honour of his Devil, or, at leaſt of his own authority, gave her to underſtand, " That ſhe talk'd " too feelingly of things paſt, the remembrance

" whereof

" whereof was ſo irkſome to him." He added, " That conſidering all was now well, ſhe ought to " think of nothing elſe, but that Obedience which " a Wife owes to her Huſband; as he would only " be ſollicitous, on his ſide, how to make a law- " ful uſe of his privileges, in order to make their " condition as happy for the future, as it had been " unfortunate for the time paſt."

The Wife, highly offended at the word *Obedience*, and yet more at the ſevere injunction to hold her tongue, brought all the arguments ſhe could think of, to maintain an equality in Marriage, ſaying, *That the Devils were not at ſuch a diſtance, but they might be recall'd, in caſe this equality was infring'd.*

The Lady abovemention'd, who was as diſcreet and judicious as any of her ſex, wiſely repreſented to her the Duty of Wives; and, at the ſame time, preach'd up the conduct and good management that Huſbands are oblig'd to uſe. But her reaſons, inſtead of pacifying, did but more incenſe her, ſo that ſhe became more inſupportable than before. *You are in the right, dear Wife*, replied the Huſband, *the Devils were not gone ſo far, but they were eaſily recall'd; or rather, you were ſo endearing to yours, that he reſolves to continue with you, notwithſtanding the poſitive command that was laid upon him to leave you. I am too weak to cope alone with you and him; which obliges me to retire, expos'd, as I am, to ſuch an unequal combat.* " And I likewiſe, re- " tire, *ſays ſhe*, with this Spirit, that will not aban- " don me. He muſt be a very ill-humour'd ſort " of a Devil, indeed, if he is not more ſociable " than ſo troubleſom and ſo croſs a Huſband." Then, turning towards her friend; " Before I go, " *ſaid ſhe to her*, I am glad I have an occaſion, Ma- " dam, to tell you freely, that I expected quite " another treatment from your friendſhip, and that

" you have forgot the intereſt, which obliges you " to take a Wife's part, againſt the ill uſage of her " Huſband. 'Tis a very ſtrange thing, that I " ſhould be run down by one, that ought to have " eſpous'd my quarrel. Adieu, Madam, adieu; " your viſits do me a great deal of honour; but " one may very well be without them, if this be all " the good they do."

Our good, but over-diſcreet Lady, was extremely ſurpriz'd at this compliment; being now convinc'd by her own experience, that even Wiſdom may over-ſhoot it ſelf, and that, for the moſt part, we make an ill uſe of our reaſon, with thoſe who have none. You may imagine ſhe did not ſtay long alone, in a houſe where nothing was talk'd of but Devils; and nothing done, but what was extravagant to the higheſt degree.

The Huſband paſs'd the reſt of the day, and all the night, in his Chamber, aſham'd of the ſhort-liv'd joy he had receiv'd; vex'd at the preſent ſtate of affairs; and reflecting, with great anxiety of mind, upon what he might expect for the future. As the agitation of the Wife had been much more violent, ſo was it of much ſhorter duration; and returning ſoon to her ſelf, ſhe made melancholy reflections upon the loſs of thoſe Pleaſures, of which ſhe ſaw her ſelf depriv'd.

A certain reſtleſs Spirit ſuffer'd few moments to paſs, without expoſtulating with the Spirit of Diſcord, why it ſhould ſacrifice its intereſt and pleaſures, thus to no purpoſe. This Spirit, which particularly ſways thoſe of the Fair Sex, but chiefly a-nights, when they cannot ſleep, had its deſir'd effect upon our Lady; ſo that reſigning her ſelf up purely to the conduct of Nature, ſhe awak'd her Huſband as ſoon as 'twas day, deſigning to aſcribe all paſt diſorders to a ſtrange Power, which was neither natural nor human. *I am ſatiſ-*

fied, ſaid ſhe, *in the lucid interval I enjoy at preſent, that our Spirits did not immediately leave us, when our Iriſh Doctor commanded them to be gone: and if you'll take my advice, my dear but too unhappy Huſband, we will go again, and beg of him a ſtronger and more effectual Conjuration.*

The poor Huſband, oppreſs'd with grief as he was, would not have repell'd an injury; judge then if he was not very glad to find ſo unexpected a calm; and tenderly affected with this amorous return in his Spouſe: "Let us bemoan, my dear, "*ſays he to her*, let us bemoan our common miſ-"fortunes, and go a ſecond time to ſeek a remedy, "which at firſt we could not obtain."

The Wife was agreeably ſurpriz'd at this diſcourſe; for, inſtead of a troubleſom Demon, whoſe inſults ſhe expected, ſhe happily found a tender and compaſſionate Huſband, who gave her comfort for that very uneaſineſs ſhe had given him; and of which he himſelf had bore the greateſt ſhare. They ſpent an hour or two to poſſeſs one another with a mutual confidence, and placing all their hopes in the mighty ſkill of the Prophet, they return'd to the houſe of Monſieur DE COMMINGES, in order to procure a more powerful relief, than that which they had try'd before.

Scarce had they enter'd the Chapel, but the Iriſhman perceiv'd them, and calling them ſo loud, that he might be heard by all the Company; *Come*, ſays he to them, *come, declare the Miracle which has been effected in you; and make your acknowledgments to that almighty Power, which has delivered you from the wretched ſlavery under which you groan'd.* The Wife, without any conſultation, immediately replied, "That as for the teſtimony he demand-"ed of them, they were ready to give it to the "obſtinacy of the Devils, but not to his ſkill: "for, in truth, venerable Father, *added ſhe*, ſince

" your fine operation, they have tormented us, as " it were, out of ſpite, more violently than ever." *You are incredulous*, cried out our good Iriſhman in a wonderful paſſion; *or at leaſt ungrateful, who maliciouſly deny thoſe benefits ye have received. Come hither, let me convict you of incredulity or malice.*

When they came near him, he nicely examin'd all the lines in their faces: he particularly obſerv'd their looks; and, as if he had diſcover'd in their eye-balls ſome impreſſion of theſe Spirits; *You are in the right*, ſays he all amaz'd, *you are in the right; they are not yet diſlodg'd. They are too deeply rooted in your bodies, to ſurrender at the firſt ſummons, but they muſt hold faſt indeed, if the Words I am now going to pronounce, don't eject them:* LEAVE, YOU ACCURSED RACE, AN HABITATION OF REPOSE TOO GOOD FOR YOU, AND GO AND RAVE FOR EVER IN PLACES, WHERE DWELL HORROR, MADNESS, AND DESPAIR. *'Tis done, my friends, you are moſt certainly deliver'd: but return no more, I intreat ye. I owe my time to all the world, and you have had as much of it as comes to your ſhare.*

Now our Patients ſuppos'd themſelves at the end of all their misfortunes. This day ſeem'd as happy to them as the firſt of their marriage, and the night was expected with the ſame impatience, as that of their Nuptials had been formerly. This night, ſo much deſir'd, came; but, alas! how ill did it anſwer their expectations! Too much Love cauſes the ſhame of Lovers; and I leave the Reader to imagine the confuſion of an adventure,

Where exceſs of deſire
Does extinguiſh the fire.

'Twas

'Twas happy for the Huſband, that his Wife accuſed the Devils that were innocent; for, ſhe was now ſatisfied, that our famous Prophet was a wretched Hibernian; who, for all his pretences, had not ſkill enough to conjure down an *Ignis fatuus.*

Sometimes ſhe imputed to her ſelf this non-performance of her Huſband, after the example of the Spaniſh Women, who attribute to themſelves on theſe occaſions the failings of their Lovers; as being perſuaded, that the force of their Charms ought neither to ſubmit to the infirmity of Nature, nor to the power of Witchcraft. Thus the Wife, who accus'd her Huſband in every thing elſe, where he was moſt innocent, juſtifies him where he was moſt deficient; and rather choſe to impute a want of vigour in him, to a want of charms in her ſelf, than to a real defect, which would prove eternally deſtructive of her pleaſures. But as a Lady doth not willingly entertain a thought injurious to the intereſt of her Beauty, ſhe immediately recall'd to her mind, the malice of the Devils, and turn'd her confuſion into anger againſt the Iriſhman, who had not ſkill enough to expel them. *We have*, ſaid ſhe angrily and as if ſhe had been inſpired, *we have too long been made fools by this ſorry Bogg-trotter; but now I find that 'tis nonſenſe to expect our deliverance from him. However, it is not enough that we are undeceiv'd; juſtice obliges us to undeceive others as well as our ſelves, and to make known to the world, either his roguery, or folly.*

" My dear, *reply'd the Huſband*, 'tis undoubtedly " true, that the misfortune of this night is purely " owing to our Devils. The Iriſhman thought to " banter them, but they reſolved to ridicule him " and us in their turn. You know me, and I know " my ſelf; ſuch a ſtrange adventure could not na-

" turally happen: I ſay, it could not naturally hap-
" pen; and therefore ſee what we got by theſe
" Conjurations. But, my Dear, *continu'd he*, when
" you take the Impoſtor to taſk, don't mention
" the particulars; and let nothing ſlip which may
" tend to our ſhame. All family ſecrets ought
" to be concealed; but this in a more particular
" manner."

The Wife had like to take pet, to ſee her ſelf ſuſpected of ſuch an indiſcretion: but not to embroil things anew, that were tending to a good accommodation, ſhe promiſed ſo to manage her ſelf, that none but the Iriſhman ſhould find fault with her proceeding.

We uſually ſeek the night to conceal our ſhame, but the day here appear'd to diſpel it; and theſe unhappy Perſons, who were not yet well recover'd of their misfortune, turn'd their thoughts with the Sun who enlivens all things, towards the hopes that their affairs would change for the better. They roſe out of their bed with more tranquillity than they had found there; and after a ſmall Breakfaſt, and a little Converſation, to fortify their bodies, and reconcile their minds, they went in peace and good union towards the houſe, whither they had gone twice with confidence, and from whence they had twice return'd without any relief. They were there inform'd, that the Iriſhman was gone to St. James's, to perform ſome Wonders there, at the deſire of my Lord D'AUBIGNY, ſo well known to all the world for one of the moſt agreeable men that ever liv'd. Behold then ſome of the Prodigies which I obſerv'd at St. James's, with leſs credulity than the multitude, and with leſs prejudice than my Lord D'AUBIGNY.

Already did the Blind ſuppoſe they ſaw that light, they did not ſee: already did the Deaf imagine they heard, and heard not: the Lame already thought

thought they were grown well, and the Impotent fancy'd they had recover'd the firſt uſe of their limbs. A ſtrong idea of Health had made the ſick forget their Diſtempers; and Imagination, which was no leſs active in the curious, than in the ſick, gave the firſt a falſe proſpect, thro' their deſire of ſeeing, as it gave a falſe cure to the ſecond, thro' their deſire of being cur'd. Such was the Power of the Iriſhman upon our minds: ſuch was the force of our minds upon our ſenſes. Thus nothing was talk'd of but Prodigies; and theſe prodigies came from ſo great an authority, that the aſtoniſh'd multitude receiv'd them with ſubmiſſion, whilſt ſome more knowing perſons durſt not reject them by their knowledge. A timorous and ſlaviſh knowledge, paid a reſpect to an imperious and authoriz'd error: the ſoul was weak, when the underſtanding was ſound; and thoſe who ſaw beſt into theſe imaginary Cures, durſt not ſpeak their real ſentiments among a prejudic'd and deluded herd of believers.

Such was the triumph of the Iriſhman, when our married couple couragiouſly broke thro' the crowd, to come and inſult him in all his majeſty. *Art not thou aſham'd*, ſaid the Wife to him, *to abuſe the ſimple and credulous people as thou doſt, by pretending to a Power which thou never hadſt? Thou haſt enjoined our Devils to leave us in quiet, and they have but tormented us the more for it. Thou haſt commanded them to be gone, yet they ſtill obſtinately reſolve to ſtay, in ſpite of thy orders, and equally deride our fooliſh credulity, and thy impotent efforts.* The Huſband continu'd the ſame reproaches, with the ſame contempt, even ſo far as not to allow him the name of *Impoſtor*; becauſe, ſaid he, there was need of Wit for an impoſture, and this miſerable wretch wanted even that.

Our

Our Prophet loſt his ſpeech, with the loſs of the Authority that made him venerable; and this formidable power, eſtabliſh'd on a ſuperſtitious ſubjection of the mind, came to nothing, ſo ſoon as there appear'd perſons bold enough to diſown it. Thus ſurpriz'd and confounded, our Iriſhman withdrew, and went out at the back-door. However, he was leſs mortified than the Aſſembly; there being nothing that a man receives with ſo much ſatisfaction, as the opinion of things marvellous, nor leaves with more difficulty and concern. As for my Lord D'AUBIGNY, he ſoon reckon'd this Prophet in the ſame claſs with a hundred others, whom he had try'd.

All the Company retir'd, aſham'd of their eaſineſs to be abuſed, and yet vex'd at the loſs of their error. Our married couple, glorious and triumphant, enjoy'd the pleaſures of Victory, without any farther thoughts of the Devils: and my Lord D'AUBIGNY, who with a wonderful facility paſs'd from one humour to another, immediately quitted the grave and the marvellous, to give himſelf the pleaſure of laughing with me, at what had happen'd. He did not ſtop here; for his curioſity led him to a more particular acquaintance with the Lady, who told him all the paſſages of their imaginary Poſſeſſion.

A LETTER

TO

The Marquis DE CREQUI[1].

AFter having lived in the conſtraint of Courts, I take up with the comfort of ending my days in the freedom of a Commonwealth, where if nothing is to be hoped for, there's at leaſt nothing to be fear'd. It would be ſcandalous for a young man not to enter the world, with a deſign to make his fortune. But when we are upon the decline, Nature calls us back to our ſelves; and the ſentiments of Ambition yielding to the love of our Repoſe, we find it a bleſſing to live in a Country, where the Laws guard us againſt the wills of men; and where, to be ſecure of all, we need only be ſecure of our ſelves.

To this bleſſing we may add, That the Magiſtrates have a great ſway in their Offices for the intereſt of the Publick; but are little diſtinguiſh'd in their Perſons, by private advantages; ſo that here are no odious Diſtinctions offenſive to men of breeding; no needleſs Dignities; no cumberſom Greatneſs, which cramps Liberty, without enlarging one's Fortune. Here men in authority procure our Repoſe, without expecting any acknowledgment, or even any reſpect for the ſervices they do

[1] *M. de St. Evremond wrote this Letter in the Year 1665, after he was gone back from England to Holland.*

do us. They are ſevere in the execution of the orders of the State; ſtiff in the management of the intereſt of their Country with foreign Nations; mild and tractable with their Fellow-burghers; eaſy with all ſorts of private Perſons. The bottom of equality ſtill remains, notwithſtanding Power; and therefore credit never makes a man inſolent, and the Governors never bear hard on thoſe that are govern'd.

As for Taxes, they are indeed very great; but they are faithfully laid out for the publick good, and leave every one the comfort of contributing only for himſelf. Therefore the love people have here for their Country is not to be wonder'd at, ſince, properly ſpeaking, 'tis no more than Self-love. But I dwell too long on the Government, without mentioning him who ſeems to have the greateſt ſhare in it*. To do him juſtice, nothing equals his Capacity but his Diſintereſtedneſs and Spirit.

Spiritual matters are managed with the like moderation. The difference of Religion, which in other places raiſes ſo many commotions, does not, in the leaſt, ruffle here the minds of people: every one ſeeks Heaven after his own way; and thoſe who are thought to go aſtray, are more pitied than hated, and beſpeak from others a pure Charity, free from the indiſcretion of miſtaken Zeal.

As there is nothing perfect every way in this World, we find here fewer polite perſons than men fit for buſineſs; and more good ſenſe in the management of affairs than delicacy in converſation. The Ladies are very civil, and the Men are ſo eaſy as not to take it ill of one, if he prefers their Wives company to theirs. The latter are ſociable enough for an amuſement; but have not vivacity

* *The Penſionary De Wit.*

vivacity enough to disturb a man's repose. Not but some of them are very lovely; but then there is nothing to be expected from them; which may be ascrib'd either to their discretion, or to their natural coldness, which serves them instead of virtue. Whatever may be the reason of it, we find in Holland a certain reservedness generally establish'd, and I know not what tradition of Chastity, which passes from Mother to Daughter, like an Article of Faith.

'Tis true, they do not find fault with the Gallantry of young Women, who are honestly allow'd to use all innocent helps to get Husbands. Some conclude the course of their Gallantry in a happy Marriage; while others, more unfortunate, feed themselves with vain hopes of a condition, which is daily put off, and never comes. These long amusements, however, ought not to be imputed to any meditated design of infidelity. A man finds himself disgusted at long run; and a disgust for his Mistress breaks his resolutions of making her his Wife: thus fearing to pass for a deceiver, he has not courage enough to break off, at the same time, when he is not willing to come to a conclusion; and so what by the power of habit and long acquaintance, what out of a foolish vanity of being thought constant, a man makes a shift to keep up languishingly the miserable remains of a worn-out passion. Some examples of this nature, have put very serious reflections into the heads of some young Women, who consider Marriage as an amorous Adventure, and their natural condition as the true state in which they ought to continue.

As for the Wives, when they have once given their Faith, they think they have no right to dispose of themselves, and seem to know nothing in the world, but barely their duty. They would

would make it a conſcience to allow themſelves the liberty of affections which the chaſteſt Women reſerve to themſelves in other places, without any regard to their obligations or dependance. Here the leaſt liberties paſs for Infidelity; and Infidelity, which paſſes for a genteel merit in agreeable Courts, is reckon'd the fouleſt of all vices with this honeſt Nation, which is very wiſe as to the conduct of its Government, but unexperienc'd as to refined Pleaſures, and a polite way of living. The Husbands reward the fidelity of their Wives, by a great ſubjection; and if contrary to this receiv'd cuſtom, a Man ſhould affect to be lord and maſter in his own houſe, the Wife wou'd be pitied by all her neighbours, as the moſt unfortunate of her ſex; and the Husband exclaim'd againſt as a very ill-natur'd fellow.

A wretched experience has given me judgment enough, at my own expence, to diſtinguiſh between theſe things, and makes me regret that time wherein we receive more ſatisfaction from ſenſe than knowledge. Sometimes I call to mind what I have been, to re-animate what I am at preſent; and from this remembrance of my former ſentiments, is form'd a certain diſpoſition to tenderneſs, or at leaſt a removal from indolence. A happy tyranny that of our Paſſions, which make up all the pleaſures of our lives! An irkſome empire that of Reaſon, if it robs us of all our agreeable thoughts, and keeps us in an unprofitable idleneſs, inſtead of eſtabliſhing a true repoſe!

I will not trouble you with a long account of the Hague: 'tis enough to tell you, that Travellers are charm'd with it, after they have ſeen the magnificence of Paris, and the rarities of Italy. On one ſide you ſee a Walk to the Sea, worthy of the grandeur of the old Romans: on the other you enter a Wood, which is the moſt agreeable

one that ever I beheld in my life. In the very ſame place you ſee Houſes enough to make a great City, and rows of Trees ſufficient to make a delicious Solitude. At certain private hours, you find here all the innocent pleaſures that the Country affords; at that of publick meeting, all the buſy chat and noiſe, which the moſt populous Cities are able to furniſh. Their Houſes are more free than in France, at the appointed times for receiving Company; but more reſerved than in Italy, when too exact a regularity obliges ſtrangers to withdraw, and reduces the family to a cloſe way of living. We now and then go to make our court to the young Prince[3], who will have reaſon to complain of me, for telling you only, that a perſon of his Age and Quality was never maſter of ſo much good ſenſe and judgment. To ſay all, I muſt tell you things that would not be believ'd; and by a ſecret impulſe of ſelf-love, I chuſe rather to paſs over in ſilence what I know, than not to be believ'd in acquainting you with what you know not.

[3] *The Prince of Orange, (afterwards King William* III.*) who was then but* 14 *Years of Age.*

THE

THE IDEA
OF A WOMAN

That never was, nor will ever be found.

IN all the beautiful Perſons I ever ſaw, if ſome things were to be admired, there were others not to be touch'd upon, or ſuch as were to be diſguis'd with much artifice; for to ſpeak the truth, it is hard to commend all, and be ſincere. I am oblig'd to EMILIA for leaving me purely in my natural temper, equally inclin'd to commend what's commendable, as to keep exactly to the truth. As ſhe does not ſtand in need of favour or kindneſs, I have no occaſion either to conceal or flatter. To her it is owing, that I can now praiſe without complaiſance; from her it proceeds, that the moſt prying obſervers loſe that malicious nicety, which is only employ'd in ſeeking out faults; and as ſhe inſpires them with other thoughts, they paſs with ſatisfaction from their uſual cenſures, to their real approbations.

It is certain that the generality of Women are more indebted to our flattery, than to their own merits, for the Praiſes they receive from us. But EMILIA is oblig'd only to her ſelf, for the juſtice which is done her; and ſecure that ſhe deſerves praiſe, 'tis her ſole intereſt that men ſhould not conceal it.

And indeed, if her enemies ſpeak of her, it is not in their power to betray their conſcience, and they

they confeſs with as much truth as reluctance, the advantages which they are oblig'd to acknowledge in her: if her friends enlarge themſelves upon her commendations, it is not poſſible for them to add any thing to the merit which affects them. Thus the former are forc'd to ſubmit to truth, when they would follow the dictates of their malice; and the others, with all their friendſhip, are but barely juſt to her; nor is it in their power to be either officious or partial. She therefore expects nothing from affection, as ſhe fears nothing from ſpleen, in the judgments that are made of her. But ſince every one is free to conceal his opinions, EMILIA may have reaſon to fear the malice of Silence, the only prejudice that Rivals and Enemies can do her. But let us come from generals, to a more particular Deſcription of her Perſon.

All her Features are regular, which but ſeldom happens: all her Features are regular and agreeable, which is ſcarce ever ſeen; for it ſeems, that the caprice of nature produces agreeableneſs from irregularity, and that complete Beauties, who have always ſomething to make them be admired, have rarely the ſecret to pleaſe. EMILIA has ſparkling Eyes, her Complexion is delicate and ſmooth, with the beſt mixture of red and white that can be imagined. Whiteneſs of Teeth, and Vermilion of Lips, are expreſſions too general for a ſecret and particular Charm, which I cannot deſcribe. Were it not for her, that fine turn of the lower part of the face, wherein the Antients placed beauty, would be found no where but in the idea of ſome Painter, or in the deſcriptions which antiquity hath left us: and to animate all this, you ſee in her looks a lively freſhneſs, a healthful clear Complexion; and ſuch a plumpneſs as does not make us apprehend her growing fatter.

Her Shape is of a juſt ſize, well proportion'd, and eaſy: as far from conſtraint, as from that affected negligence, which makes a Woman's body look disjointed from the hips, and ſpoils a good carriage. Add to theſe, a noble Air, a grave but natural Aſpect, neither formal, nor wild. Her laughter, ſpeech, and actions, are all agreeable and decent.

Her Wit is extenſive, without being vaſt; never loſing it ſelf ſo far in general thoughts, as not to be able to return eaſily to particular conſiderations. Nothing eſcapes her penetration; her diſcernment leaves nothing unknown: and I can't ſay, whether ſhe be more ready at unfolding a myſtery, or at making a ſound judgment upon things that appear. She can keep counſel, without being myſterious; knowing equally when to ſpeak, and when to be ſilent. In her ordinary Converſation, ſhe ſays nothing with ſtudy, and nothing at a venture; the leaſt matters diſcover attention, and there appears nothing ſtrain'd in the moſt ſerious; her livelieſt Diſcourſes are exact, and her moſt natural Thoughts expreſt with a delicate turn. But ſhe deſpiſes thoſe lucky hits that fall from the mind without choice, and without judgment; which as they are generally admir'd, ſo, for the moſt part, they make thoſe little eſteem'd that ſpeak them.

In all her Perſon, you ſee ſomething great and noble, which proceeds from a ſecret relation between the air of the Face, the qualities of the Mind, and thoſe of the Soul.

If ſhe follow'd her natural inclination, ſhe would be too magnificent; but a juſt conſideration of her affairs reſtrains her, and ſhe chuſeth rather to confine the generoſity of her humour, than to fall into a condition, where ſhe muſt ſtand in need of that of others; equally reſolved not to be beholden

holden to thoſe about her, as ready to ſerve Strangers, and warm for the intereſt of her Friends. Not that theſe conſiderations make her quit ſo noble an Inclination; ſhe only regulates it in the management of her fortune: her natural temper, and her reaſon, making her diſintereſted, but not negligent.

Her good ſenſe and dexterity, ſufficiently appear in her management of affairs, where ſhe engages freely, provided ſhe finds a proſpect of any ſolid advantage either for her ſelf, or her friends. But ſhe hates to act merely out of a ſpirit of reſtleſneſs; being equally averſe to buſy impertinent ſtirring, and to an unactive lazineſs, which vainly affects the name of Tranquillity, to cover a real Careleſneſs.

After having deſcribed ſo many fine qualities, 'tis time to ſee what impreſſions they make upon our Soul, and what paſſes in her own. She has ſomewhat majeſtical, that commands our Reſpect; ſomewhat ſweet and obliging, that wins our Inclination. She attracts and retains us, and we always approach her with deſires that we dare not to expreſs.

To conſider her within, I don't believe her uncapable of the ſentiments ſhe gives: but as ſhe has no leſs a command over her ſelf, than over you, ſhe maſters in her own heart by reaſon, what reſpect conſtrains in yours. Nature is ſo feeble in ſome Souls, that they have not the power to form any deſires; ſo boiſterous in others, that it produces tranſports and paſſions: exact in EMILIA, it has made the heart ſenſible, which ought to be ſo; and has given to reaſon, which ought to command, an abſolute empire over her motions. Happy ſhe, that complies with the tenderneſs of her Sentiments, without intereſſing the delicacy of her Choice, or that of her Conduct: happy, who in a

Correſpondence eſtabliſh'd for the comfort of life, contents her ſelf with the approbation of the better ſort, and her own ſatisfaction; who fears not the murmurs of the Envious, that are jealous of all Pleaſures, and malicious againſt all Virtues.

We know by an infinite number of repeated examples, that the Mind is blinded by Paſſion; and that Love can never be truly ſaid to have eſtabliſh'd his power, till he has ruin'd that of our Reaſon: but our admiration of EMILIA increaſes, as our knowledge becomes more refin'd; and that Paſſion, which always appear'd a mark of folly, is here the trueſt effect of our judgment.

The great enemies of EMILIA, are only thoſe who have a falſe knowledge of things; and her friends are all ſuch as know how to judge with Diſcretion. Every Man has more or leſs affection for her, according as he has more or leſs nicety; and he that can diſcover every day ſome new Charms in her, to make him be the more in love with her, is ſatisfy'd that he improves in his judgment. Some Perſons have no occaſion for ſo long an inquiry, and for ſo ſlow a ſtudy. At the firſt ſight they are touch'd with her merit, without the knowledge of it; and feel ſecret motions of eſteem as well as inclination for her. Scarce has ſhe utter'd ſix words, but they find her the moſt reaſonable perſon in the world: no body ever appear'd to them ſo civil, nor ſo chaſte; and yet they know nothing of her behaviour and conduct. They frame, as it were, by inſtinct, the moſt advantageous thoughts of her Virtue; and when their Reaſon is afterwards conſulted, inſtead of condemning the ſurprize, it does but approve ſuch happy and juſt prepoſſeſſions.

Amongſt the advantages of EMILIA, one of the greateſt, in my opinion, is to be always the ſame, and always pleaſing: for we find, that the gayeſt

gayeſt Humour doth, at length, become tireſom; the moſt fertile Imagination is at laſt exhauſted, and makes you languiſh with it; the moſt animated Vivacity, either diſguſts or wearies you. This is the reaſon why Women ſometimes ſtand in need of ſome caprices to affect us; or elſe are oblig'd to relieve their converſation by ſome diverſions, to revive us. She whom I deſcribe, pleaſes by her ſelf alone, and at all times; an eternal evenneſs never affords us a quarter of an hour's diſtaſte. We are glad if we can find with others, one agreeable hour; we ſhould complain to paſs one tedious minute with her. Viſit her in any condition, upon any occaſion, you go to a certain Pleaſure, and to an aſſur'd Satisfaction. Here is not an Imagination that at firſt ſurprizes, and ſoon after tires you. Her ſerious moments do not make you purchaſe a ſolid Converſation at the loſs of Gaiety: her Reaſon pleaſes, and her Judgment is agreeable.

I'll conclude by a quality, which ought to be conſider'd before all the reſt. She is Devout, without Superſtition, and without Melancholy; far remote from that infirmity, which fancies Miracles wrought in every thing, and at every turn is intoxicated with ſupernatural nonſenſe; averſe to thoſe ſolitary humours, which inſenſibly diffuſe in the mind a hatred of the World, and an antipathy to Pleaſure.

She is not of opinion, that we ought to retire from human Society, to ſeek God in the horrors of ſolitude: She doth not believe, that to diſengag'e one's ſelf from a civil Life, and to break off the deareſt and moſt reaſonable Commerce, is to be united to God, but rather to be tied to one's ſelf, and fooliſhly to purſue one's own Imagination. She hopes to find God amongſt Men, where his Goodneſs is moſt active, and his Providence

appears to be more worthily employ'd; and there ſhe endeavours, by his aſſiſtance, to enlighten her Reaſon, to perfect her Manners, to regulate her Conduct, both as to the care of Salvation, and the duties of Life.

Thus I have given you the Deſcription of a *Woman that is not to be found*, if 'tis poſſible for one to make the Deſcription of a thing that is not; 'tis rather the idea of *an accompliſhed Perſon.* I would not look for it amongſt the *Men*, becauſe there is always wanting in their converſation, ſomething of that ſweetneſs which we meet in that of *Women*: and I thought it leſs impoſſible to find in a Woman the ſtrongeſt and ſoundeſt Reaſon of Men, than in a Man thoſe Charms and Endearments that are ſo natural to Women.

A LETTER TO THE COUNT DE LIONNE[1]

SIR,

IF I could diſcharge all the obligations you have laid on me, by thanks, I would moſt humbly return you a thouſand; but ſince the leaſt of the pains you have taken for me, is worth more than all the compliments in the world, I would have you

[1] *Firſt Maſter of the Horſe of the King's Great Stable, and Nephew to the Marquis de Lionne, Miniſter and Secretary of State.*

you to quit ſcores with your ſelf, by the pleaſure which a Man of honour finds in obliging others. You'll ſay, perhaps, I am ungrateful: if I am, 'tis not, at leaſt, after the ordinary rate; and knowing, as I do, the delicacy of your taſte, I believe I ſhall pleaſe you more by a refin'd Ingratitude, than by too common a Gratitude. If, by misfortune, this way of dealing ſhould not pleaſe you, juſtify me your ſelf; and by what you have done for me, judge of my grateful ſenſe, which, indeed, is ſuch as it ought to be. Whatever be the ſucceſs of your endeavours, I ſhall always be infinitely oblig'd to you; and the good intentions of thoſe who would do me ſervice, are ever very agreeable and acceptable to me, altho they prove not ſucceſsful.

As for the Papers you mention, they are entirely at your diſpoſal; for nothing belongs to us with more Right, than what we get by our Induſtry. Your dexterity in making this theft, deſerv'd a better recompence, by making you light on ſomething more curious. 'Tis impoſſible to tell me more ingeniouſly than you do, that EMILIA[a] is not much liked by the Ladies of Paris. To ſpeak the truth, ſhe's ſomewhat Dutch-built: her Plumpneſs enclines me to think that ſhe drinks foggy beer; and her Devotion, that ſhe carries her Bible under her arm every Sunday. I beg of you not to give any body a copy of the little Pieces I ſend you, except the *Letter* which the Prince DE TURENNE has ask'd of you, in order to ſerve me, and which you had done well to have given him before now. I have made ſome additions to the *Diſſertation* on Mr. RACINE's *Alexander*, which make it appear to me more tole-

 rable

[a] See the foregoing *Idea of a Woman that never was, nor ever will be found.*

rable than when you ſaw it. If the Earl of ST. ALBANS deſires to ſee what's in your hands, you may gratify his curioſity; for I have not one thought, that I would not truſt him with.

I ſhould extremely rejoice to ſee the Marquis DE COEUVRES's Son married with the Daughter of the Marquis DE LIONNE, Miniſter of State, having always been a very humble Servant of both the Fathers. But when I conſider that I ſaw the Marquis DE COEUVRES married; and his Son, with his Bib, come to the Biſhop of LAON [3], whom he call'd *Papa*, to bid him *Good Morrow* [4], I make a melancholy reflection on my age; and lifting up my eyes to Heaven, with a ſhrug of the ſhoulders, I ſing, tho' not ſo agreeably as NOBLET,

Mais helas! quand l'Age nous glace,
Nos beaux jours ne reviennent jamais.

But oh! when Age benums our veins,
No longer ſprightly Joy remains.

The report goes here, as well as at Paris, that the Peace is made with Portugal [5]: but this news comes from Madrid; and the Portugueſe Ambaſſador [6], with whom I play at Hombre every day, has no manner of account of it from Lisbon. Upon the credit that is given to this piece of news, he complains that Portugal is reckon'd for nothing; and this is his reaſoning: *People*, ſays he, *believe the Peace is made, becauſe they know Spain offers us every thing; but who knows whether we*

[3] *Afterwards Cardinal d'Eſtrées.*
[4] *We ſhould ſay in Engliſh,* Ask his bleſſing: *but that cuſtom is not uſed in France.*
[5] *It was concluded the 15th of February, 1668.*
[6] *Don Franciſco de Meles.*

we will accept, even this offer? I doubt, whatever comes from the Caſtilians, and will believe nothing, till I have advice from Lisbon. He has diſpatched an expreſs thither about it, and concerning his buſineſs in this Country. The Elector of Cologne is *incognito* at Amſterdam; and the Prince of Tuſcany will arrive there in few days. The Prince of Straſburgh is at the Hague, giving it out, that there will be a Peace; but few will give credit to him; upon a firm belief, that before the Spaniards are come to a full reſolution to treat, the Armies will be in the field. Do not envy them the honour of loſing patiently: they let us gain what we will; for by their familiarity with misfortunes, they do not ſtir much to prevent them.

This is all you ſhall have of me at preſent. What you ask of me, out of civility, to ſhew, I ſuppoſe, that you remember my trifles at the Hague, is in ſuch ill order, and ſo ill written, that you could not ſo much as read it; and, beſides, I have good breeding enough to ſave you the tireſomneſs it would give you. There are, indeed, ſome things which I like well enough; but then there are many others to be left out. If you deſire to have the Obſervations I have made on ſome Latin Hiſtorians, I will ſend them to you.

I intreat you to return my hearty thanks to M***. What eſteem ſoever you may have for him, you would value him ſtill more, if you knew him as well as I do. Farewel, Sir; I am by nature ſo grateful, that I cannot, either by deſign or ſtudy, become an ingrate; and whatever was my reſolution, at the beginning of this Letter, I cannot end it, without aſſuring you, I ſhall, as long as I live, remember the obligations you have laid on me. I wiſh it may be a long time

But oh! when Age benums our veins,
No longer ſprightly Joy remains.

If you did not value your ſelf more upon having arms and legs to be broken in the war, than on writing, I ſhould tell you, your Letter is as finely writ as it can be.

TO THE SAME.

SIR,

IF you do me the honour to write to me, pray let us leave out this SIR, and all other ceremony that cramps the freedom of a commerce by Letters. I muſt deſire you, in the next place, not to jeer me as you do, by the exceſſive commendations you beſtow on trifles. They were the reſult of idleneſs; on which I ſet no other value, than with relation to the amuſement they afford me, during ſome very tedious and melancholy hours. I wiſh they may prove likewiſe an amuſement to you: and, ſuch as they are, I'll not fail ſending you, by the next poſt, the *Obſervations on* SALLUST *and* TACITUS, which I mention'd to you. The firſt aſcribes all to the natural Conſtitution. With him all events are the effects of mens Tempers; wherefore 'tis his chiefeſt care to give us a true knowledge of men, by the admirable Characters he has left us. The other, turns all into Politicks, and makes a myſtery of every thing, aſcribing all to craft and addreſs, and little or nothing to a man's Conſtitution. I then conſider how difficult it is, to find in the ſame Perſon, a perfect knowledge of men, and a profound ſkill in buſineſs; and in eight or ten lines I ſhew, that Monſieur

DE LIONNE, the Miniſter, has reconcil'd two qualifications, generally divided, which are found in him in the higheſt perfection. It is ſo exceſſive cold, that for an Empire I would not write a ſheet of paper. I'll ſend you alſo the *Diſſertation on* ALEXANDER, in my opinion, much more tolerable than as you have it. This is all I can do, in return for all your favours.

I am very much oblig'd to you for ſending me Monſieur CORNEILLE's Tranſlation of the little Latin Poem on the King's Conqueſts. I ſhould highly commend the Latin, were I not in conſcience bound to commend the French more [1]. Our Language is more majeſtick than the Latin, and the Verſes more harmonious, if I may uſe that expreſſion. But 'tis no wonder, that he who has added ſtrength and majeſty to LUCAN's thoughts, ſhould have the ſame advantage over a modern Latin Author. However, I admire more what CORNEILLE has done himſelf on the King's Return, than his Tranſlation, as admirable as it is. I never ſaw any thing finer. If we had a Poem of that ſtrength, I ſhould not much value the HOMERS, the VIRGILS, and the TASSOS. I account it one of the King's proſperities, the having a perſon, who can ſo worthily ſpeak of his great Actions.

I deſire you to aſſure Monſieur DE LIONNE of my moſt humble reſpects. I doubt not but he will be ſo kind, as to employ his good Offices in my favour, when occaſion offers; and I expect from you a diſcreet and well tim'd ſollicitation, not to importune him, but now and then, to put him in mind of the Affair of your moſt humble and moſt obedient ſervant.

Monſieur

[1] *Father la Ruë is the Author of that Latin Poem, on the King's Victories in* 1667; *and the famous Peter Corneille of the French tranſlation of it.*

Monſieur VAN BENNINGHEN goes Ambaſſador extraordinary to France[a]; and 'twould be very well for me, if I could return with him.

TO THE SAME.

I SHOULD have great excuſes to make to you, for not ſending what I promis'd, if it was worth it: but I am ingenious in delaying your being tir'd by my trifles; wherein I give you a nice proof of my friendſhip. However, I ſhall overlook your intereſt and mine; by tranſmitting to you the Pieces that are now tranſcribing. I addreſs one of them to Monſieur VOSSIUS, my literary friend, and with whom there's more to be learn'd, than with any man I ever ſaw in my life. I'll tell you, in the mean time, that I write to Men of the Sword and Courtiers, as a Wit and a Scholar; and that I converſe with the Learned, as a Man that has been a Soldier, and ſeen the World.

As to the frank Acknowledgment of my Fault, which you mention, I ſhould not have fail'd to make it; if I had deſign'd to ſhew what you ſtole from me. No body knows better than you, how far that was from my thoughts. You will oblige me, by letting me know, whether I may entertain any hopes of returning to France, or muſt reſolve to paſs the remainder of my days in foreign Countries? Hope is the ſource, or at leaſt one of the firſt cauſes of uneaſineſs; and uneaſineſs is tolerable in Love only, where 'tis even pleaſurable: for you know the ſong,

Pains of Love are ſweeter far
Than all other pleaſures are:

every

[a] *He went thither towards the end of February, 1668.*

every where elſe diſquiet is a great torment. We have not here CORNEILLE's *Attila:* you'll oblige me to ſend it me, with ſome of MOLIERE's Plays, if there be any new ones: for the works of thoſe two Writers, are the only objects of my curioſity. The Antients taught CORNEILLE to think well; and he thinks better than they. The other learnt from them the art of making, in Comedy, excellent draughts of the Men and Manners of his Age; which had not before been ſeen on our Stage. I am inſenſibly become learned in your company: I am juſt now going to receive a Viſit from Monſieur VOSSIUS, to whom I ſhall talk of the War in Flanders. Farewel, Sir, I firſt baniſh'd a tedious ceremony; I deſire you not to take it ill.

I forgot to deſire you to aſſure Count DE GRAMMONT, that I am overjoy'd to ſee him the Protector of the Houſe of GRAMMONT[1].

TO THE SAME.

YOU are none of thoſe who endeavour more to ſatisfy themſelves, as to the honeſty of their conduct towards their Friends, than to bring their Affairs to a good iſſue. Your firſt care of mine laid obligations enough on me: but your perſeverance, and all the induſtrious pains you take, give me a ſort of ſhame; and I ſhould not eaſily ſuffer them, if I did not think they may put me in a condition to come and ſhew you my gratitude. You know nothing is equal to the tenderneſs of a man in diſgrace;

[1] *The Count de Guiche having been a long time in exile, at laſt obtain'd leave to return to France, by Count de Grammont's intereſt. The pleaſantry of M. de St. Evremond's expreſſion, runs on Count de Grammont's performing, what the Mareſchal his brother had ſeveral times unſucceſsfully attempted.*

grace: I am naturally pretty ſenſible of the favours done me; judge what ill fortune adds to this good diſpoſition. Of the temper, and in the condition I am, I give my ſelf over to the impreſſion your generoſity has made on me; and 'tis my moſt ſoft and tender Pleaſure to be touch'd by it: but ſometimes ungrateful reflections would biaſs my Judgment; and it comes into my head to examine coolly the obligations I have to you. I ſwear to you, in good earneſt, that after having conſider'd all you do for me, I wonder how an acquaintance, which came about by chance, could produce ſuch eager concern in you, for the Intereſt of a new Friend.

It ſeems as if, by a ſecret juſtice, the Relations of Monſieur DE LIONNE would acknowledge the great eſteem and veneration I always had for him. The Marquis DE LEISSENS LIONNE, on his return from Holland, made my buſineſs his own: but your warmth in it ſtill ſurpaſſes his. I hope you will inſpire the Marquis DE * * * with a diſpoſition to favour me; and that at laſt, his Father's good offices will have the good effect you have prepar'd. You can't imagine how ſenſibly I am affected with the new favour the Marquis DE * * * has receiv'd; which is owing to the great ſervices of the Father, and the great hopes that are juſtly entertain'd of the Son; I mean the hopes of the ſervices that are expected from him; for as to his merit, it is already grown to perfection, and there's no need of expecting any thing farther on that ſide.

I had ſcarce leiſure to caſt my eyes on *Andromache* [1], and *Attila* [2]: however, by the curſory view I had of them, it appears to me that *Andromache* has in it ſomething very fine, and that 'tis but

[1] *A Tragedy, by Racine.*
[2] *A Tragedy, by P. Corneille.*

but one degree remov'd from the Great. Thoſe who ſhall not go to the bottom will admire it; but thoſe who are looking for perfect Beauties, will miſs ſomething in it, that ſhall hinder them from being fully ſatisfied. You have reaſon to ſay, that that Piece has loſt much by the death of MONTFLEURY: for it wants great Tragedians, to make up its defects by Action. But, take it all together, it is a fine piece, and very much above the Indifferent, tho ſomewhat below the Great. *Attila*, on the contrary, muſt have got ſomething by the death of MONTFLEURY: for a great Tragedian, (as he was) would have ſtrain'd too high a part, which is full enough of it ſelf; and his ferocity would have made too great an impreſſion on tender ſouls. Not but that Tragedy had been admired in the time of SOPHOCLES and EURIPIDES, when fierce and bloody repreſentations were more reliſh'd, than the ſoft and tender. All the Thoughts are juſt; and I found ſome excellent Verſes in it. As for the Fable, or Plot of thoſe two Pieces, I had not time to make the leaſt reflection upon it.

I wiſh, with all my heart, that CORNEILLE may handle the ſubject of HANNIBAL; and if he can bring into his piece the Conference he had with SCIPIO before the Battle, I fancy he will make them ſpeak like the greateſt men in the world, as they were indeed. I ſend you herewith the *Obſervations on* SALLUST, which I mention'd before; and I will ſhortly ſend you the *Diſſertation upon* ALEXANDER, both indifferently tranſcrib'd. As for the Characters, they are ſo interwoven with the *Converſation with Monſieur* DE CANDALE, that they are inſeparable from it, and I cannot yet ſend that piece. Farewel: love me always; and believe I am yours, more than any body's elſe.

I know not whether Monſieur DE LIONNE will be thought to be as polite, as nice, and as much a man of pleaſure as he is. When theſe qualities produce nothing but a ſoft Idleneſs, they ſuit but ill with a Miniſter of State; but when a profound Stateſman, conſummate in Buſineſs, can ſo maſter them, as to put himſelf above them, and procure to himſelf beſides, ſome agreeable, and even voluptuous Leiſure, his merit, in my opinion, reaches the higheſt degree of perfection.

OBSERVATIONS

ON

SALLUST AND TACITUS.

To Monſieur VOSSIUS[1].

I ONCE intended to have made an exact Criticiſm upon SALLUST and TACITUS; but being inform'd ſince, that others had done it before me; that I might neither wholly purſue, nor loſe my deſign, I have reduc'd my thoughts to one ſingle Obſervation, which I here ſend you.

In my opinion, the latter turns every thing into Policy; with him Nature and Fortune have very little to do in the management of Affairs; and I am

[1] *Iſaac Voſſius, afterwards Canon of Windſor, Son to the famous John Gerard Voſſius.*

am miſtaken, if he does not often aſſign cauſes too far-fetch'd for ſome actions, which are altogether ſimple, ordinary, and natural.

When AUGUSTUS would ſet bounds to the Empire, it is, in his conceit, out of a jealous apprehenſion, leſt another ſhould have the glory of extending it. The ſame Emperor, if you will believe him, to be ſecure beforehand that the Roman People will lament his death, artfully conſults for the advantage of his memory, by the choice of his Succeſſor [a].

The dangerous temper of TIBERIUS, and his diſſimulation, are known to all the world: but whoever aſcribes to that Prince a craftineſs in every thing, is not ſufficiently acquainted with the temper of Man. Nature is never ſo much ſhackled, but that ſhe preſerves as great a command over our actions, as we can pretend to have over her motions. Something of one's Temper, always enters into the beſt form'd deſigns: and it is not credible, that TIBERIUS, who was for ſo many years ſubject either to the will of SEJANUS, or to his own infamous Pleaſures, could in that weakneſs and diſorderly life, act by ſo refin'd and myſterious a Syſtem of Politicks.

The poiſoning of BRITANNICUS cauſes not ſo much horror as it ſhould, by reaſon of TACITUS's care to make us obſerve the behaviour of the ſpectators: ſo long as the Reader is taken up in conſidering the different motions they are in, the indiſcreet fears of ſome, the profound reflections of others, NERO's diſſembled coldneſs, and the ſecret apprehenſions of AGRIPPINA, his mind is diverted from the blackneſs of the action, and from the ſad image of this Death: thus the Parricide

[a] *See the* Reflections on the different Genius of the Roman People, *Chap.* XVI. *pag.* 119.

eſcapes his hatred, and the unhappy dying perſon miſſes his pity.

The Cruelty of the ſame NERO, in his Mother's death, has too refin'd a conduct. Altho AGRIPPINA had periſh'd by a Court-intrigue ſo well manag'd, yet he ought, at leaſt, to have ſuppreſs'd half the art: for, by that means, the crime finds leſs averſion in our minds; and, if I may ſpeak it, gains upon the judgment of the Readers, when ſo much addreſs and dexterity are put in the management of it.

TACITUS, in moſt places, gives us pictures too finiſh'd, where nothing of Art, indeed, is wanting; but he ſeldom conſults Nature, or paints after the life. Nothing is finer than what he repreſents; but, frequently, they are things that ought not to be repreſented. Sometimes he overſhoots the point, by too great a depth and penetration: ſometimes, by his too nice ſpeculations, he robs us of the true objects, to leave us pleaſing ideas in their room. What may be ſaid in his favour, is, that perhaps he has oblig'd us more than he had done, had he related nothing but groſs trivial things, that were not worth our knowing, and the truth of which had been of no importance.

SALLUST, who was of an oppoſite genius, aſcribes as much to Nature, as TACITUS does to Policy. The greateſt care of the former, is to ſhew us the Genius of Men, and afterwards Affairs come on naturally, by the Actions of thoſe perſons whom he hath deſcrib'd, which are never farfetch'd. If you conſider with attention the Character of CATILINE, you will neither wonder at that execrable deſign he engag'd in, to oppreſs the Senate; nor at that vaſt project he fell upon, to make himſelf maſter of the Republick, without the aſſiſtance of the Legions. When you reflect on his pliantneſs, his inſinuations, his admirable talent

of

of bringing others to be of his mind, and uniting factious perſons to himſelf; when you conſider that ſo much Diſſimulation was ſupported by ſo much ſpirit and reſolution, when there was a neceſſity for action: you will not be ſurprized, that at the head of all the ambitious and corrupted men, he was ſo near overturning the Commonwealth of Rome, and ruining his Country. But SALLUST doth not content himſelf with deſcribing men in their characters; he makes them deſcribe themſelves to us in Speeches, where you always ſee Nature copied to the life. CESAR, in his Oration, plainly enough gives us to underſtand, that the Conſpiracy did not diſpleaſe him. Under the zeal which he pretends for the preſervation of the Laws, and the dignity of the Senate, he lets us ſee, he had a ſecret inclination for the Conſpirators: he is not ſo careful to conceal his opinion of a future ſtate; the Gods are leſs conſider'd by him than the Conſuls; and, in his conceit, Death is nothing but the end of our torments, and the repoſe of the miſerable. CATO makes his own picture, after CESAR has given us his. He ſpeaks like an honeſt well-meaning man, but with a moroſe air: the auſterity of his Manners is inſeparable from the integrity of his Life, he mixes the ſourneſs of his Mind, and the roughneſs of his Temper, with the uſeful counſels he delivers. That ſingle expreſſion of *Optimo Conſuli*, which vex'd CICERO ſo much, for not giving to his merit ſo much as he thought was due to it, makes me fully comprehend both the good intentions, and the vain humour of that Conſul. In ſhort, by the various deſcriptions of different Actors, I not only repreſent to my ſelf the Perſons, but I ſeem to behold all that paſs'd in the Conſpiracy of CATILINE.

You may obſerve the ſame thing in the Hiſtory of JUGURTHA. The deſcription of his qualities, and his humour, prepares you to ſee the invaſion

of the Kingdom; and three lines ſhew his whole method of making war. You ſee, in the Character of METELLUS, with the reſtoration of Diſcipline, a happy alteration in the Roman affairs.

MARIUS leads the army to Africk, with the ſame ſpirit with which he ſpoke at Rome. SYLLA talks to BOCCHUS, with the ſame Genius that appears in his Character, little tied to duty and regularity, and ſacrificing all to his paſſion of making friends to himſelf: *dein parentes abunde habemus, amicorum neque nobis, neque cuiquam omnium ſatis fuit.* Thus SALLUST makes men act by their temper, and thinks he ſufficiently obliges his Reader, by deſcribing them well. Every extraordinary perſon that is repreſented, is exactly drawn, even when he has no conſiderable part in the ſubject. Such is the Character of SEMPRONIA, which, in my Judgment, is inimitable; nay, he goes out of his way to give us the pictures of CATO and CESAR, which are really ſo fine, that I ſhould prefer them to entire Hiſtories.

To conclude my Obſervation upon theſe two Authors, ambition, avarice, luxury, corruption; in ſhort, all the general cauſes of the diſorders of the Republick, are very often alledg'd by SALLUST. I know not whether he deſcends enough to particular intereſts and conſiderations. One would think, that ſubtle and refin'd Counſels ſeem'd to him unworthy of the grandeur of the Republick; and that is the reaſon perhaps, why he traces up few things to ſpeculation and deſign; and almoſt every thing to the paſſions and genius of Men.

In the Hiſtory of TACITUS, we ſee more Vices, more Wickedneſs, and more Crimes by far; but ingenuity conducts, and dexterity manages them; every one ſpeaks there always with deſign; nothing is acted without premeditation; Cruelty is prudent,

prudent, and Violence diſcreet. In a word, the Crimes with him are too delicate; whence it comes to paſs, that perſons, even of the greateſt integrity, come inſenſibly to reliſh the art of miſchief, which doth not wholly diſcover it ſelf at firſt, and that they learn to become wicked, before they are aware, while they imagine only to improve in ſkill. But to leave SALLUST and TACITUS in their different Characters, I dare affirm, that we but ſeldom meet together, a true knowledge of Men, and a profound intelligence of Things.

Thoſe that are brought up in Societies, that ſpeak in Aſſemblies, learn the order, the forms, and all the matters that are debated in them. Paſſing from thence thro' Embaſſies, they inſtruct themſelves in foreign affairs, and there are few things but what they become capable of, by application and experience. But when they come to ſettle at Court, they are perplex'd and aukward in their choice of Perſons, without any taſte of merit, ridiculous in their expences, and in their pleaſures.

Our Miniſters in France are altogether free from theſe defects; I may affirm it of them all without flattery, and enlarge my ſelf upon Monſieur DE LIONNE, with whom I am better acquainted. 'Tis in him, properly, that different talents are reconcil'd; 'tis in him we find a curious knowledge of the merits of men, and a conſummate maſtery of buſineſs.

To ſpeak the truth, I have a thouſand times admir'd, how a Miniſter, who hath confounded all the Politicks of the Italians; who hath diſorder'd the ſteddy Prudence of the Spaniards; who hath engaged ſo many Princes of Germany in our intereſts; and made thoſe who with ſo much difficulty ſtir for themſelves, to act for us, juſt as we would have them: I have admir'd, I ſay, how a Man, ſo dextrous in Negotiations, ſo well vers'd in affairs, could

have all the delicacy of our moſt polite Courtiers in his converſation and pleaſures. One may ſay of him, what SALLUST affirm'd of a great Perſon of antiquity, That his leiſure is voluptuous: but that by a juſt diſpenſation of his time, with his great facility in managing buſineſs, of which he has got the maſtery, never was any affair retarded by his Pleaſures[3].

Amidſt the diverſions of his leiſure, amidſt his moſt important employments, he ſtill dedicates ſome hours to polite Learning, of which ATTICUS himſelf, one of the greateſt ornaments of Antiquity, did not acquire a more curious ſtock in the ſweetneſs of his repoſe, and the tranquillity of his ſtudies. His knowledge is univerſal; and Learning, which very often debauches Nature, doth but adorn his; it throws off, with him, whatever it had of obſcure, difficult, uncouth, and gives him entirely all its advantages, without corrupting the clearneſs and politeneſs of his mind. No man is better acquainted with the Works of the Ingenious than he; no man writes better: he knows equally how to judge, and how to compoſe; ſo that I queſtion whether we ought to eſteem more in him the ſoliditiy of his Judgment, or the brightneſs of his Genius. But it is time to leave his, and come to that of the Courtiers.

As they are not only educated, but have their ordinary reſidence near Princes, they make it their particular ſtudy to know them well: there is not an inclination that is conceal'd from them, no averſion unknown, no weakneſs which eſcapes them. Hence reſult

[3] Igitur Sulla gentis patriciæ nobilis fuit, familia prope jam extincta majorum ignavia litteris Græcis atque Latinis juxta atque doctiſſumè eruditus, animo ingenti, cupidus voluptatum, ſed gloriæ cupidior: otio luxurioſo eſſe; tamen ab negotiis numquam voluptas remorata, *&c.* SALLUSTII *Bellum Jugurth.*

reſult thoſe inſinuations, complaiſances, and all thoſe curious meaſures, which compoſe the Art of winning the hearts, or, at leaſt, of reconciling the wills of others: but either thro' want of application, or becauſe they look upon thoſe employments which inſtruct a man in Affairs, to be below them, they are equally ignorant of them all; and their Agreeableneſs coming to fail with their age, they muſt conſequently loſe their conſideration and credit. Thus they grow old in the Cabinet, expos'd to the raillery of the young men, who can't endure their cenſorious humour; with this difference, however, that theſe, for the moſt part, act agreeably to their temper, while the others cannot abſtain from thoſe things that don't become them: and indeed, the moſt accompliſh'd Perſon, if he is not in a poſt to ſerve others, will find it a hard matter to keep himſelf from being ridiculous in his old age. But it fares with them, as with our Ladies of Gallantry, who are ſtill pleas'd with the World, when that's no more pleas'd with them. If we were wiſe, our diſguſt would be govern'd by that which others have for us; for when once we become unprofitable to the World, and can no longer ſupport our ſelves by the merit of pleaſing, 'tis high time to think of making a retreat. Gown-men, on the other ſide, appear leſs genteel when they are young, by a falſe affectation of the Court-air, which makes them ſucceed in the City, tho it renders them ridiculous at Court: but, at laſt, the true knowledge of their intereſt brings them back to their profeſſion; and as they become conſummate in buſineſs, in time they arrive to conſiderable ſtations, where every body, in general, ſtands in need of their aſſiſtance. It is true, thoſe Courtiers who advance themſelves to honours by great employments, are of conſummate abilities; and

their merit arrives to full perfection, when to the nicety of the Court, they join the knowledge of Affairs, and experience in War.

A

DISSERTATION

ON

RACINE'S TRAGEDY,

CALLED

The Grand Alexander.

To Madam BOURNEAU,

SINCE I have read the *Grand Alexander*, the old age of CORNEILLE does not ſo much alarm me; and I am not ſo apprehenſive that the writing of Tragedies will end with him. However, I could wiſh, that before his death he would adopt the Author of this Piece, and, like a tender father, give a right caſt to the Judgment of one, who alone deſerves to be his Succeſſor. I wiſh that he would give him a good taſte of Antiquity, which he enjoys to ſo much advantage; that he would make

make him enter into the Genius of thoſe dead Nations, and know judiciouſly the Character of Heroes that are now no more. This is, in my opinion, the only thing which is wanting in ſo great a Genius. Some of his Thoughts are ſtrong and bold; his Expreſſions equal the force of his thoughts: but then you muſt give me leave to ſay, he is not acquainted with ALEXANDER, or PORUS. By his performance one would think, that he had a mind to give the world a greater idea of PORUS, than of ALEXANDER, in which it was not poſſible for him to ſucceed: for the Hiſtory of ALEXANDER, as true as it is, has much of the air of a Romance in it; and for an Author to make a greater Hero than him, is to affect to deal in fiction, and rob his Work, not only of the credit of truth, but the agreeableneſs of probability. Let us not therefore imagine any thing greater than this Conqueror of the World, otherwiſe our imaginations will range too far, and ſoar too high. If we would give other Heroes an advantage over him, let us take from them the Vices which he had, and give them the Virtues which he had not: let us not make SCIPIO greater, altho there never was amongſt the Romans, a ſoul ſo aſpiring as his; he ſhould be made more juſt, more diſpos'd to do good, more moderate, more temperate, and more virtuous.

Let not thoſe that are moſt partial to CESAR, againſt ALEXANDER, alledge in his favour, either his paſſion of Glory, greatneſs of Soul, or firmneſs of Reſolution. Theſe Qualities are ſo conſpicuouſly ſhining in the Grecian, that to have had them in a higher degree, would have been to have had them to exceſs; but let them make the Roman more wiſe in his undertakings, more dextrous in his affairs, one that better underſtood his own intereſts, and was more maſter of himſelf in his paſſions.

A very nice Judge of the merits of Men, is contented to compare to ALEXANDER, the man whom he thought worthy of the higheſt character: he durſt not attribute to him greater qualities, but took away from him the bad: *magno illi Alexandro, ſed ſobrio neque iracundo ſimillimus*[1].

Perhaps theſe conſiderations influenc'd our Author in ſome meaſure: perhaps, to make PORUS the greater man, without diving into fables, he thought it convenient to leſſen his ALEXANDER. If that was his deſign, 'tis impoſſible for him to have executed it better; for he has made him ſo moderate a Prince, that a hundred others may be preferred to him, as well as PORUS. Not but that HEPHESTION gives us a fine idea of him; that TAXILUS and PORUS himſelf, ſpeak advantageouſly enough of his greatneſs: but when he appears himſelf, he has not force enough to ſuſtain it; unleſs, out of modeſty, he has a mind to appear an ordinary Man amongſt the Indians, in a juſt repentance, for having been ambitious to paſs for a God amongſt the Perſians. To ſpeak ſeriouſly, I can here diſcern nothing of ALEXANDER, but his bare name; his Genius, his Humour, his Qualities, appear to me no where. I expect to find in an impetuous Hero ſuch extraordinary motions, as ſhould excite my paſſion; but I find a Prince of ſo little ſpirit, that he makes no manner of impreſſion upon me. I imagin'd to find in PORUS, a greatneſs of ſoul, which would be ſomewhat more ſurprizing to us; an Indian Hero ſhould have a different character from one of ours. Another Heaven, if I may ſo ſpeak, another Sun, and another Earth, produce other Animals, and other Fruits: the Men ſeem to be of another make, by the difference of their faces, and ſtill more, if I dare ſay ſo, by a diſtinction of Reaſon:

[1] *Velleius Paterculus, meaning Ceſar. Hiſt. Lib.* II. *cap.* 41.

Reaſon: both their Morals, and a Wiſdom peculiar to their Climate, ſeem there to over-rule and guide another ſort of Men in another World. PORUS, however, whom QUINTUS CURTIUS deſcribes an utter ſtranger to the Greeks and Perſians, is here purely French. Inſtead of tranſporting us to the Indies, he is carried into France; where he is ſo well acquainted with our humour, that he ſeems to have been born, or at leaſt to have paſs'd the greateſt part of his life among us.

They that undertake to repreſent ſome Hero of antient times, ſhould enter into the Genius of the Nation to which he belong'd, of the time in which he liv'd, and, particularly, into his own. A Writer ought to deſcribe a King of Aſia, otherwiſe than a Roman Conſul: one ſhould ſpeak like an abſolute Monarch, who diſpoſes of his Subjects as his Slaves; the other like a Magiſtrate, who only puts the Laws in execution, and makes their Authority reſpected by a free People. An old Roman ſhould be deſcrib'd furious for the publick good, and moved by a fierce ſenſe of Liberty, different from a flatterer of TIBERIUS's time, who knew nothing but intereſt, and abandon'd himſelf to the Slavery of the age. We ſhould not make the ſame Deſcription of Perſons of the ſame condition and the ſame time, when Hiſtory gives us different characters of them. It would be ridiculous to make the ſame Deſcription of CATO and CESAR, CATILINE and CICERO, BRUTUS and MARK ANTHONY, under pretence, that they liv'd at the ſame time, in the ſame Republick. The ſpectator, who ſees theſe Antients repreſented upon our Theatres, follows the ſame Rules to judge exactly of them, as the Poet doth to deſcribe them well; and the better to ſucceed in this, he removes his mind from all that he ſees in faſhion; he endeavours to diſengage himſelf from the humour of his own time; and renoun-

ces

ces the inclination of his own Nature, if 'tis oppoſite to that of the Perſons repreſented: for the Dead cannot know our Manners, but Reaſon, which is of all times, may make us know theirs.

One of the greateſt Faults of our Nation, is to make all center in it, even to that degree, as to call thoſe very perſons Strangers in their own Country, who have not exactly either our air or manners. Upon this ſcore we are juſtly reproach'd, for not knowing how to eſteem things, but by the relation they have to us; of which CORNEILLE made a ſad, but undeſerv'd experiment, in his *Sophoniſba*. MAIRET, who deſcrib'd his unfaithful to old SYPHAX, and in love with the young and victorious MASSINISSA, pleaſed the whole world, in a manner, by hitting upon the inclination of the Ladies, and the true humour of the Courtiers. But CORNEILLE, who makes the Greeks ſpeak better than the Greeks, the Romans than the Romans, the Carthaginians than the Citizens of Carthage ſpeak themſelves: CORNEILLE, who is almoſt the only perſon that has a true taſte of Antiquity, has had the misfortune not to pleaſe our age, for repreſenting the true Character of ASDRUBAL's Daughter. Thus, to the diſgrace of our Judgments, he that hath ſurpaſs'd all our Authors, and has in this reſpect, perhaps, even ſurpaſs'd himſelf, by allowing to thoſe great names all that was their due, could not oblige us to do him the ſame piece of juſtice; being enſlaved by cuſtom, to ſet a value on thoſe things the preſent mode recommends; and little diſpos'd by reaſon, to eſteem thoſe qualities and ſentiments, which are not agreeable to our own.

Let us then conclude, after ſo long a Reflection, that ALEXANDER and PORUS ought to have preſerv'd their Characters entire; that it was our buſineſs to view them upon the banks of Hydaſpes, ſuch

ſuch as they were; not theirs to come to the banks of the Seine, to ſtudy our Nature, and ſpeak out Thoughts. The ſpeech of PORUS ſhould have had ſomething more unuſual, and extraordinary in it. If QUINTUS CURTIUS has made himſelf admir'd for his Oration of the Scythians, where he gives them thoughts and expreſſions natural to their Nation, this Author might have render'd himſelf as much admir'd, by repreſenting to us the rarity of a Genius of another World.

The different conditions of theſe two Kings, in which both of them behav'd themſelves ſo gallantly; their Virtue differently exercis'd in the variety of their fortune, beſpeak the attention of Hiſtorians, and oblige 'em to deſcribe them to us. The Poet, who was at liberty to add to the truth of things, or at leaſt to ſet them off with all the ornaments of his Art, inſtead of uſing colours and figures to embelliſh them, hath taken away much of their beauty; and whether the ſcruple of ſaying too much of them, did not ſuffer him to ſay enough; or whether 'tis owing to the barrenneſs of his Invention, he falls vaſtly ſhort of the truth. He might have enter'd into their moſt private thoughts, and have drawn from the bottom of thoſe great Souls, as CORNEILLE hath done, their moſt ſecret motions; whereas he ſcarce goes ſo far as their bare outſide, little curious to remark well what appear'd and little prying to diſcover what lay conceal'd.

I could have wiſh'd, that our Author had laid the ſtreſs of his ſkill, in giving us a juſt repreſentation of thoſe great men; and that in a Scene worthy of the magnificence of the ſubject, he had carried the Greatneſs of their Souls as high as it was poſſible. If the Converſation of SERTORIUS and POMPEY[a] had

[a] *See Corneille's* SERTORIUS, *Act* III. *Scene* I.

had such an influence upon our minds, what should not we expect from that of PORUS and ALEXANDER, upon a subject so uncommon? I could likewise have wish'd, that the Author had given us a greater idea of this War. And, indeed, the passage of the Hydaspes is so strange, that it is hardly to be conceiv'd; a prodigious Army on t'other side the River, with terrible Chariots and Elephants, at that time formidable; the Lightning, Thunder, and Tempests, which occasion a general confusion; and, above all, when so large a River must be pass'd over in Skins; in short, a hundred dreadful things, which astonish'd the Macedonians, and which made ALEXANDER say, that at last he had found a danger worthy of himself; all this, I say, ought to have raised the imagination of the Poet, both in the Description of the Preparations, and the Recital of the Battle.

However, he scarce mentions the Camps of these two Kings, whom he robs of their true Character, to enslave them to imaginary Princesses. All that is either great or valuable amongst men, the defence of a Country, the preservation of a Kingdom, don't excite PORUS to the Battle; he is encourag'd to it by the beautiful eyes of AXIANA alone, and the design of his Valour, is only to recommend himself by it to her. Thus Knight-Errants are described, when they undertake an adventure; and the finest Genius, in my opinion, that Spain has produc'd, never makes DON QUIXOT enter the lists, before he has recommended himself to DULCINEA.

A maker of Romances may model his Heroes according to his fancy. Neither is it of great importance, to confine one's self religiously to the true Character of an obscure Prince, to whose reputation we are perfect strangers: but those great Persons of Antiquity, so famous in their age, and better known

known amongſt us than the living themſelves; the ALEXANDERS, the SCIPIOS, and the CESARS, ought never to loſe their Characters in our hands: for the moſt injudicious ſpectator perceives that he is offended, when an Author aſcribes Faults to them, which they had not; or when he takes from them Virtues, which had made upon his mind an agreeable impreſſion. Their Virtues, once eſtabliſh'd, intereſt our ſelf-love near as much as our own real merit; and 'tis impoſſible to make the leaſt alteration in them, without making us feel this change with violence. Above all things, we ought not to injure the reputation of their Genius in the War, to render them more illuſtrious in their Amours. We may give them Miſtreſſes of our own inventing, we may mix paſſion with their Glory: but let us take care of making an ANTHONY of an ALEXANDER; and not ruin a Hero, confirm'd for ſo many ages, merely to favour a Lover of our own creating.

To baniſh Love out of our Tragedies, as unworthy of Heroes, is to take away that ſecret charm which unites our Souls to theirs, by a certain tie that continues between them: but then to bring them down to us by this common ſentiment, don't let us make them deſcend beneath themſelves, nor deſtroy what they poſſeſs above men. Provided this diſcretion be obſerv'd, I dare affirm, that there are no ſubjects, where ſo univerſal a paſſion as Love is, may not be introduc'd naturally, and without violence. Beſides, ſince Women are as neceſſary in the repreſentation, as Men, we ſhould give them frequent occaſions to ſpeak of that which is moſt agreeable to their nature, and which they talk better than any thing elſe. Take away from ſome of the Fair Sex the expreſſion of amorous thoughts, and from others thoſe private familiarities, into which the mutual confidence they have in each other leads

leads them, and you reduce them, for the moſt part, to very tedious Converſations. Moſt of their motions, as well as their diſcourſes, ſhould be the effects of their Paſſion; their Joy, their Sorrow, their Fears, and their Deſires, ought to have a little tincture of Love, in order to be taking.

If you introduce a Mother rejoicing for the happineſs of her dear Son, or afflicting herſelf for the misfortune of her poor Daughter, her ſatisfaction, or her grief, will make but a weak impreſſion upon the ſpectators. To affect us with the tears and complaints of this Sex, ſhew us a Miſtreſs that bewails the death of a Lover; and not a Wife, that laments the loſs of a Huſband. The grief of Miſtreſſes, which is tender and endearing, has a far greater influence upon us, than the affliction of an inveigling, ſelf-intereſted Widow, who, as ſincere as ſhe happens to be ſometimes, always gives us a melancholy idea of Funerals, and their diſmal Ceremonies.

Of all the Widows that ever appear'd upon the Theatre, I can endure none but CORNELIA[3]; becauſe, inſtead of making me think of fatherleſs Children, and a Wife without a ſpouſe, her affections truly Roman, recal to my mind, the idea of antient Rome, and of the great POMPEY.

This is all that may reaſonably be allow'd to Love upon our Theatres: let our Writers be contented with this, ſo far even as the ſevereſt Rules of the Drama will allow of it; and let not its greateſt favourers believe, that the chief deſign of Tragedy, is to excite a tenderneſs in our hearts. In Subjects truly Heroick, a true Greatneſs of Soul ought to be maintain'd above all things. That which would be pleaſing and tender in the Miſtreſs of an ordinary man, is often weak and ſcandalous in the Miſtreſs

[3] *See Corneille's* POMPEY.

treſs of a Hero. She may entertain her ſelf, when alone, with thoſe inward conflicts ſhe feels in her ſelf; ſhe may ſigh in ſecret for her uneaſineſs, and truſt a beloved and virtuous Confident, with her fears and griefs: but, ſupported by her glory, and fortified by her reaſon, ſhe ought always to remain miſtreſs of her paſſions, and to animate her Lover to great actions by her reſolution, inſtead of diſheartning him by her weakneſs.

'Tis, indeed, an indecent ſight, to ſee the Courage of a Hero ſoftned by tears and ſighs; but then, if he haughtily contemns the grief of a beautiful Perſon that loves him, he rather diſcovers the hardneſs of his Soul, than the reſolution of his Heart.

To avoid this inconvenience, CORNEILLE has no leſs regard to the Character of his illuſtrious Ladies, than to that of his Heroes. EMILIA encourages CINNA to execute their deſign [4]; and anſwers all the ſcruples that oppoſe the aſſaſſinating of AUGUSTUS. CLEOPATRA hath a paſſion for CESAR, and leaves nothing undone to preſerve POMPEY [5]: ſhe had been unworthy of CESAR, if ſhe had not declar'd againſt the baſe treachery of her Brother; and CESAR undeſerving of her, if he had been capable of approving ſo infamous an action. DIRCE, in *Oedipus* [6], vies greatneſs of Courage with THESEUS, turning upon her ſelf the fatal explanation of the Oracle, which he would apply to himſelf, out of love to her.

But, above all, we ought to conſider SOPHONISBA [7], whoſe Character might be envy'd by the Romans themſelves. We ought to behold her ſa-

[4] *See Corneille's* CINNA, *Act* I. *Scene* III.
[5] *In the Tragedy of* POMPEY.
[6] *In the Tragedy of* OEDIPUS.
[7] *See Corneille's* SOPHONISBA.

crifice the young MASSINISSA, to old SYPHAX, for the good of her Country: we ought to ſee her hearken as little to the ſcruples of Duty, in quitting SYPHAX, as ſhe had done to the ſentiments of Love, in loſing MASSINISSA: we ought to ſee her ſubject the ſtrongeſt Inclinations, all that binds, all that unites us, the moſt powerful ties, the moſt tender paſſions, to her love for Carthage, and her hatred for Rome. In a word, we ought to ſee her, when being utterly abandon'd, ſhe's not wanting to her ſelf; and when thoſe hearts, which ſhe had gain'd to ſave her Country, fail'd her expectations, to owe to her ſelf the laſt ſupport to preſerve her Glory and her Liberty.

CORNEILLE makes his Heroes ſpeak with ſo exact a Decorum, that he had never given us the Converſation of CESAR with CLEOPATRA[8], if CESAR had believ'd that he had any work upon his hands at Alexandria, as beautiful as it is, even to that degree, as to make an amorous diſcourſe agreeable even to indifferent perſons that ſhould hear it. He had certainly let it alone, but that the Battle of Pharſalia was fully won, POMPEY dead, and all his party diſſipated. As CESAR then believ'd himſelf to be the maſter of all, an Author might juſtly enough make him offer a Glory of which he was in full poſſeſſion, and a Power, in all probability, well ſettled: but when he diſcover'd PTOLEMY's Conſpiracy; when he beheld his Affairs in an ill condition, and his own Life in danger, he is no more a Lover, that entertains his Miſtreſs with his paſſion, but a Roman General, that acquaints the Queen with the danger that threatens them, and leaves her in haſte, to provide for their common ſecurity.

It

[8] *See Corneille's* POMPEY, *Act* IV. *Scene* III.

It is therefore very ridiculous, to busy PORUS wholly with his Love, just before a great Battle, which was to decide his destiny; nor is it less preposterous to make ALEXANDER quit the field, when the Enemy begin to rally. One should have introduc'd him impatient to find out PORUS, and not make him leave the fight with precipitation, only to pay a visit to CLEOPHILE; he that was never troubled with any such amorous disorders, and who never thought a Victory complete, till he had either destroy'd or pardon'd. That which is harder upon him still, is, that he is made to lose much on one side, without gaining any thing on t'other: he is as indifferent a Hero in Love, as in War; and thus the History is disfigur'd, without any ornament to the Romance: we find him a Warriour, whose glory cannot inflame our courage; and a Lover, whose passion cannot affect our tenderness.

This is what I had to say of ALEXANDER and PORUS. If I have not regularly tied my self to an exact Criticism, 'tis because, instead of entering into particulars, I rather chose to enlarge my self upon the Decorum that ought to be observ'd in the discourses of Heroes, and the difference of their Characters; upon the good and ill usage of the tenderness of Love in Tragedies, which is rejected too severely by those, that ascribe every thing to the motions of *Pity* and *Fear*; and is too nicely pursu'd by those, that have no relish, but for these sorts of sentiments.

A LETTER

TO

THE COUNT DE LIONNE.

I KNOW not yet what ſucceſs your endeavours to ſerve me will have; but I can aſſure you, they make a deep impreſſion on a man, who is very ſenſible of the leaſt obligation that is laid upon him. I am more concern'd at your Illneſs, for the trouble it brings upon you, than by the hinderance it gives to your ſollicitations in my Affair. I am apprehenſive they may be ſomewhat too preſſing, with reſpect to the Prince of TURENNE, and that I may become at laſt obnoxious to him, by the importunity I give him. If he had not ſent me a Compliment by Count D'AUVERGNE, and Count D'ESTRADES, I would not have taken the liberty to deſire his good offices; for I never did him any ſervice that may oblige him to concern himſelf in my behalf. If I admir'd him all my lifetime, 'twas only to do juſtice to his great Qualities, and to credit my own judgment: but I never expected any thing from him, becauſe, indeed, I had no pretenſions to any thing. If he be ſo kind, as to be willing to oblige me, I ſhall be extremely grateful; but if I am indifferent to him, I ſhall have no manner of reaſon to complain.

The kindneſs which you aſſure me the Marquis DE LIONNE has for me, gives me a ſecret ſatiſfaction, far greater than I ought to enjoy in my preſent

ſent condition. If I was fully perſuaded of it, it would take up my whole attention, and agreeably divert my thoughts from my ill fortune. In what place ſoever I may be, pray aſſure him, that he will have in me a very unprofitable ſervant againſt my will, and no leſs zealous than your ſelf, in every thing that concerns him. This, I think, is the moſt emphatical way I can uſe to expreſs my ſentiments.

Pray moderate the exceſſive Praiſes you beſtow on my Trifles. At the time when you ſhew ſo much ſincerity in ſolid things, and real ſervices, you have not the ſame frankneſs in telling me your opinion of what I ſend you. I might, with more reaſon, tell you, that your Letter is the beſt written that ever I ſaw; but I am afraid to injure your reputation, in a nice Country, where a man cannot write much, and write well, without paſſing for a Pedant, or for an Author.

Your *Andromache* is very fine: three of my friends ſent me one each, by the Poſt, without conſidering how frugal a man ought to be in a Commonwealth. 'Tis not the Money I regard; but if the Burgomaſters were acquainted with this laviſhneſs, they would turn me out of Holland, like a Man who might corrupt their Citizens. You are better acquainted with a popular State, when you free me from thoſe expences, which you lay very judiciouſly on the Ambaſſador [1], whom it becomes extremely well to ſcatter his money for the honour of his Maſter, and the dignity of the Crown. Nevertheleſs, as thoſe little things are reprinted in Amſterdam, eight or ten days after they come out in France, I would not put the Ambaſſador to ſo conſiderable an expence for Poſtage too frequently. Thoſe that ſent me *Andromache*, have deſir'd my opinion of it: as I told

[1] *Count d'Eſtrades, the French Ambaſſador at the Hague.*

told you before, it appear'd to me very beautiful; but I think that Paſſions may be carried farther, and that there is in the Sentiments ſomething deeper than what's to be found in it: for what ought to be tender, is only ſoft; and what ought to excite pity, raiſe nothing but tenderneſs. However, take him altogether, RACINE deſerves the higheſt reputation, next to CORNEILLE.

TO THE SAME.

IF it were true, as you tell me, that Monſieur DE LIONNE, the Miniſter of State, ſhould like thoſe little Pieces I have ſent you, the pleaſure of hitting ſo nice a palate as his, would eaſily drown the grief of my Diſgrace; and I ſhould think my ſelf obliged to the misfortune of being an Exile, in which condition, for want of Diverſions, I amuſe my ſelf with trifles of this nature. If he be not ſatisfied with the Picture I have made of his accompliſhments, he muſt lay the blame on his own merit, which I could not be ſo happy as to expreſs well. Why is he a man of ſo much ability and probity? I had rather find in him more capacity and nicety than I beſtow upon him, than to make him more able, or more nice, than I ſhould find him. It fares with him, as with thoſe Women of extraordinary Beauty, in whoſe Pictures there is ever ſomething wanting; and who ought to be over-joy'd to ruin the reputation of all Painters.

Madam BOURNEAU has ſerv'd me a very ſcurvy trick, in ſhewing a very confus'd ſketch I had ſent her about the Tragedy of ALEXANDER. This Woman, whom I often convers'd with in England, and who had a great deal of ſound wit, ſent me

me that Piece of RACINE, with a desire to give her my Judgment upon it; which I did, in haste, without allowing my self sufficient time to peruse that Play with attention. I desir'd her, as earnestly as possible, not to shew my Letter: but being less scrupulous than your self, in following the advice of Friends, I find she has shewn it to all the world, and has now brought me into the perplexity you mention. I hate extremely to see my Name toss'd about, particularly with things of this nature. I am unacquainted with RACINE: but as he is a great Wit, I wish it were in my power to serve him; and yet his greatest enemies could not have done worse, than what I have done without design. However, Sir, if, as you tell me, 'tis not possible to hinder the printing of those collected Pieces, 'tis better they should be printed by the Copy you have, and as correctly as possible, than in such a confusion as they have been handed about to the Printer: but, pray, take care that my Name be not put to them.

I don't desire you to communicate to any body the side-wind Justification of what I wrote at St. John-de-Luz[1]: you know the reason of it as well as my self. I intended to praise him who is now on the Throne; but I know not whether my Praises are acceptable. Neither will you, I hope, part with the little Character, which you did but imperfectly copy out; as for the rest, it is wholly yours, and you may use it as you please. You would oblige me, however, to take special care that nothing of it be printed: but, in case you cannot prevent it, I leave it entirely to your management and discretion.

Your

[1] *See the* Letter to the Marquis de Lionne, *inserted in the* Life of M. de St. Evremond, *under the year* 1667.

Your Letters are ſo polite and delicate, that the Printers of this Country, who are no leſs eager than thoſe of France, would not fail to dun me for them, if they knew I had any thing ſo ingenious, and ſo nicely writ. In truth, no man can write better than you do, nor act ſo well in a friend's concern. As deſirous as I am to ſee France again, I would not have return'd before I had been acquainted with you, both becauſe it is very uncommon to find ſo careful and ſo affectionate a Friend, and upon the ſcore of your agreeable Correſpondence. As for the Praiſes of *Attila*, you make 'em more ingenious than I intended 'em. The truth is, that Piece is leſs fitted to the taſte of your Court, than to that of Antiquity; but I think it extremely fine.

Here are abundance of trifles, which I would not have ventured upon, if the confidence of a very ſtrict Friendſhip did not admit the ſmalleſt matters in a familiar intercourſe.

The End of the firſt Volume.